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Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding  
of New Mexico

A NEW INVESTIGATION INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEW  
MEXICO IN THE LIGHT OF A MASS OF NEW MATERIALS  
RECENTLY OBTAINED FROM THE ARCHIVO GEN-  
ERAL DE INDIAS, SEVILLE, SPAIN

BY

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## PREFACE

The Oñate expedition to New Mexico was the culmination of more than half a century of interest in the region north of Mexico. This interest had been aroused by the reports of Cabeza de Vaca and Fray Marcos de Niza. These accounts had laid the basis for dreams of fabulous wealth in the interior which Coronado's expedition proved to be merely dreams. So great was the reaction to this prosaic disillusionment that for four decades the Borderland was practically forgotten. At the end of that time explorations sponsored by some friars caused renewed interest in the region, which soon came to be called New Mexico, and resulted in plans for its occupation. Several royal cédulas were issued authorizing the viceroy to arrange for the pacification of the new land without expense to the crown. In response to that command Don Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas was chosen to plant the Cross and the Spanish Arms on New Mexican soil.

In the survey of early New Mexico here given the object has been to present a consecutive narrative of the period from 1595 to 1620, with a short introductory chapter leading up thereto. Accordingly the works of writers that have treated of this subject have been utilized though the sources have been referred to wherever possible. In addition much new material has been collected and used. This has made possible the bridging of a number of gaps in New Mexico's early history. The controversy regarding Oñate's contract and the two official inspections of his forces have been clarified in the light of new materials. Some details have been added to the account of the destruction of Acoma. The portions dealing with the sending of reinforcements to Oñate in 1600 and the desertion of the colony are almost entirely based on new materials.

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More light is also shed on Oñate's difficulties before the expedition to California was undertaken. Finally the story of Governor Oñate's later fortunes and the growth of New Mexico in the decade after the founding of Santa Fé have never before been presented with such fulness.

Whatever merit there may be in the present work is in large part due to the generosity of the Native Sons of the Golden West who annually enable the University of California to send two students to Europe to pursue investigation there for materials on Pacific Coast history. It was my pleasure to enjoy a traveling fellowship endowed by this organization in the year 1922-1923, a year full of pleasure and profit for me. During that time it was my purpose to find all the available documents in Spain dealing with early New Mexico and much was obtained.

Particular mention should be made of certain great collections of documents. Villagrá's immortal poem on early New Mexico (Alcalá, Spain, 1610) is full of information. Its importance is well known and need not again be emphasized. The *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid 1864-1884, 42 vols.) contains much source material for New Mexico and adjacent regions. Dr. Herbert E. Bolton's researches in the Mexican archives resulted in a rich harvest. Part of his findings appeared as *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916). Later Dr. Charles Wilson Hackett assumed the task of editing some materials for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. These appeared as *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, (1923).

The first part of "Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico" was written before Dr. Hackett's work was published, but all citations to documents contained in the latter work have been changed to refer to it.

Acknowledgements are due to the officials of the Archivo General de Indias in Seville for courtesies extended in archive work. Mr. Lansing B. Bloom of the *New Mexico*

PREFACE

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*Historical Review* has courteously assisted in many ways during publication. Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California, under whose direction this work was written, has given in unstinted measure of his thorough knowledge of the Southwest. For his encouragement and inspiration I am deeply grateful. My wife has assisted constantly both during the composition and publication of the volume.

George P. Hammond

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VICEROY LUIS DE VELASCO, II

## Chapter I

### THE EARLY EXPEDITIONS INTO NEW MEXICO

*Cabeza de Vaca.* The northern frontier of New Spain soon became famed as a land of mystery. After Cortés had completed the conquest of Tenochtitlán the adventurous Spanish conquistadores began to seek for other Mexicos to subjugate. A hasty exploration of the surrounding territory soon revealed the fact that such riches were not to be found near at hand. But when Cabeza de Vaca in 1536 straggled into Culiacán from Florida after an eight years' jaunt through a "no man's land" his stories, retold by hungry fortune seekers, were sufficiently astounding to provide anyone with material for dreams of great conquests in the interior. When he went to Spain and told the wonderful tale of his experiences it added greatly to the enthusiasm in the De Soto expedition then preparing. In New Spain, where Antonio de Mendoza had but recently taken up his duties as first viceroy, Vaca's accounts stirred his ambition to acquire those fabled regions. Of course, the intrepid Cabeza did not visit New Mexico. But "the effective part of his statement was the report, obtained from the Indians, of populous towns with large houses and plenty of turquoises and emeralds, situated to the north of his route."<sup>1</sup> He was thus the first European to approach and hear of New Mexico, and his hearsay reports were the incentive which led to its discovery and exploration.

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1. Bancroft, H. H. *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 18.  
**FNML**

*Fray Marcos de Niza.* Mendoza's immediate plans for northern exploration failed to materialize. Nevertheless his interest did not abate, and when Coronado became the governor of Nueva Galicia he had instructions for carrying on certain preliminary discoveries with a view to bigger things should there be any excuse therefor. The expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan missionary, was one of these tours. It was arranged by Viceroy Mendoza through his lieutenant, Coronado.<sup>2</sup>

Early in March, 1539, Fray Marcos set out from Cuiliacán on a reconnoitering expedition. He was accompanied by some guides and the negro Stephen, one of Vaca's companions, whom the viceroy had taken into his pay. Proceeding into Sonora Fray Marcos sent the negro on ahead to learn what he could. He soon sent back notice that the missionary should follow immediately, great news had been obtained. It was the Seven Cities, called Cíbola, of which he had heard, and whose wealth was nothing short of marvelous.

Inland were the Seven Cities, situated on a great height. Their doors were studded with turquoises, as if feathers from the wings of the blue sky had dropped and clung there. Within those jeweled cities were whole streets of goldsmiths, so great was the store of shining metal to be worked.

Beyond these Seven Cities were other rich provinces, each of which was greater than any of the famous Seven.

So, as ever in these tales, the splendor within reach was already dimmed by the splendor beyond! To Cíbola,

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2. The standard books on the expeditions into New Mexico are: Bolton, H. E. *The Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*; Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico; Lowery, W. *The Spanish Settlements within the present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*; Winship, George Parker, *The Coronado Expedition*; Twitchell, R. E. *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*. The quotations are from the *Spanish Borderlands*.

therefore, the friar set out on the second day after Easter.

Continuing northward to the Gila he heard of Stephen, accompanied by a band of three hundred Indians, farther on ahead toward the northeast. Fray Marcos followed in his wake, but soon learned bad news. A fleeing Indian told of Stephen's capture at Cíbola, where his party was met by a shower of arrows. It was stated by some that he fell during the attack. Undaunted by the news the friar continued forward, going far enough to get a glimpse of the Seven Cities of Cíbola from a plateau. There he took possession in the name of the king and then hurried back fearful of being attacked, but reached Nueva Galicia in safety.

In the city of Mexico the descriptions of Fray Marcos of the great city, as he believed he had seen it with his very eyes, caused a tumult. Another Mexico had at last been found! The discovery was proudly proclaimed from every pulpit. It passed from mouth to mouth among the cavalier adventurers, dicing and dueling away their time and impatient for richer hazards and hotter work for their swords.

*Coronado.* Soon everybody wanted to go to Cíbola, and in a short time the viceroy had enlisted three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indian allies to undertake the subjugation of the Seven Cities and other wealthy provinces beyond. Coronado was made their leader. The assembly took place at Compostela in February, 1540, whither the viceroy came to give his final blessing upon the venture. Two months later Coronado was on his way to the kingdom of fabled wealth.

Coronado's plan was to hasten forward with a picked body of men, including the missionaries headed by Fray Marcos. Early in July he came within sight of Cíbola. Bitter was the disillusion. Instead of great cities glimmering in wealth the conquerors saw a crowded village which at once showed fight. The Indians were soon driven within the walls, however, but not till Coronado had been knocked from his horse by a rock and received an arrow

wound in the foot. The defeated natives then deserted their stronghold. This satisfied the Spaniards as it was well stocked with food. It was Hawikuh which had been won, the ruins of which are to be seen about fifteen miles southwest of Zuñi. Coronado renamed it Granada, and there he remained till November, 1540.

Fray Marcos soon realized that Cíbola was no place for him. It is not recorded that he was treated with violence by the disgusted soldiers; his cloak protected him, but it did not shield him from the terrible imprecations hurled at his head. His gross exaggeration was represented as falsehood, and he soon went south to escape the torment of his companions.

*The Grand Cañon.* While Coronado was resting, his lieutenants were sent to explore other provinces, which were now reported to contain the wealth not found at Cíbola. Captain Továr was sent to Tuzayán, the present Moqui towns in Arizona. After a short encounter with the Indians the latter sued for peace and became vassals of the king of Spain. They too, had stories to tell and spoke of a great river several days' journey distant, flowing far down between red mountain walls. Captain Cárdenas was sent to verify the report, and thus became the first white man to view the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. His men made futile attempts to descend the gorge. On one occasion three of them spent a day in trying, but only succeeded in going one third of the distance.

*The Buffalo Country.* During the absence of Cárdenas visitors from the buffalo country came to call on Coronado. They were led by Bigotes, their bewhiskered chief, and sought the friendship of the Spaniards. They told of numerous "humpbacked cows" near their country and brought a picture of one on a piece of hide. Alvarado with twenty men was sent to accompany them on the return. Going by way of Acuco and Tiguex, in other words, by way of Ácoma and the Tiguex villages on the Rio Grande, he reached Cicuyé on the Upper Pecos on the border of the

plains in fifteen days. Here he was not only well received but picked up a find, a really good story-teller whom he called El Turco from his appearance. Before returning, a trip was made to the buffalo plains with the new friend as guide. Once back at Tiguex, near present Bernalillo, he found Cárdenas preparing winter quarters for the army, and here he awaited Coronado's arrival. The latter had remained at Cíbola till the main army came up. After a short rest it also set out to join Cárdenas and Alvarado.

• *El Turco's Tales.* El Turco delighted the hungry fortune seekers with tales of a new El Dorado called Quivira. It was his own home, situated far to the east.

The chief of that country took his afternoon nap under a tall spreading tree decorated with an infinitude of little golden bells on which gentle zephyrs played his lullaby. Even the common folk there had their ordinary dishes made of "wrought plate"; and the pitchers and bowls were of solid gold.

This cheering news made the army more hopeful and enthusiastic. But nothing could be done till spring. In the meantime trouble occurred with the natives. Chief Bigotes was put in chains when his tribe failed to produce some golden bracelets said to have been stolen from El Turco. Coronado next demanded three hundred blankets from the Tiguas. When these were not produced the natives were stripped of their garments. They rebelled and a battle followed. Soon the Indians begged for peace by making symbols and the Spaniards responded in like manner. But the conqueror was faithless. About two hundred were seized, many were burned, while the others broke away or died in the attempt. Never again did this people listen to proposals of peace from a race which could not be trusted.

*The Expedition to Quivira.* April 23, 1541, Coronado set out for Quivira under the guidance of El Turco. By June he was in western Texas where the main part of the

army was ordered back to Tiguex. With a chosen body of men he continued, now veering to the north. In five weeks time the home of the Wichita Indians in Kansas had been reached.

There no sparkling sails floated like petals on the clear surface of an immeasurable stream. No lordly chief drowsed to the murmur of innumerable bells. The water pitchers on the low entrances of their grass-thatched huts, were not golden. "Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of either was found among these people."

El Turco confessed that he had been telling lies, but insisted that it was at the instigation of the people of Cicuyé, who desired that the Spaniards might perish on the plains or come back in such weakened condition that they could easily be overcome. After El Turco had been put to death for his perfidy Coronado returned to Tiguex. Here exploring parties were sent up and down the river, north to Taos, and as far south as Socorro.

*The Return to Mexico.* When winter came a great deal of suffering and discontent came with it. Next spring further explorations were planned, but then Coronado suffered a dangerous fall during a tournament. It was a long time before his recovery, and by that time he had given up all plans of conquest.

Hungry and tattered, and harassed by Indians, Coronado and his army painfully made their way back towards New Galicia. The soldiers were in open revolt; they dropped out by the score and went on pillaging forays at their pleasure. With barely a hundred followers, Coronado presented himself before Mendoza, bringing with him nothing more precious than the goldplated armor in which he had set out two years before. He had enriched neither himself nor his king, so his end is soon told: "he lost his reputation, and shortly thereafter the government of New Galicia."

A remnant of the wrecked expedition remained in New Mexico. Some Mexican Indians whom we shall meet again,

two soldiers whose fate is unknown, and two missionaries and a lay brother, who suffered martyrdom in all probability, made up this group.

*The Rodríguez Expedition.* During the four decades which now elapsed before New Mexico again came into prominence the frontier of Spanish occupation had blazed new trails toward the north. The discovery of mines was ever an important factor in expansion, and when these were discovered in the San Bartolomé valley it rapidly became the center of a thriving settlement. There were Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua, (frequently written Santa Bárbara in the early records), San Gerónimo, San Bartolomé and Todos Santos forming a group of towns in that vicinity. Here was stationed Fray Agustín Rodríguez, a Franciscan lay brother, who had heard of a great country to the north. His imagination was stirred by the report and he applied to the viceroy for permission to enter the land. The request was granted, but the soldiers who were to accompany him were limited to twenty. At the same time the latter were allowed to barter with the Indians, which made the expedition much more attractive. With Rodríguez.

went Fray Francisco Lopez, Fray Juan de Santa María, nineteen Indian servants, and nine soldier-traders. The soldiers were led by Francisco Chamuscado, "the Singed." They were equipped with ninety horses, coats of mail for horse and rider, and six hundred cattle, besides sheep, goats and hogs. For barter with the natives they carried merchandise. While the primary purpose of the stock was to provide food on the way, the friars were prepared to remain in New Mexico if conditions were propitious.

Leaving Santa Bárbara June 5, 1581, they descended the Conchos to the Rio Grande and then followed the latter to New Mexico, visiting most of the pueblo groups along the way, the Piros, Tiguas, and Tanos. At that point Father Santa María determined to return for the purpose of giving an account of the land. There was much opposi-

tion among his companions, but he went nevertheless. Three days later the Indians took his life. The rest of the party meanwhile continued northward to Taos, and then visited the buffalo plains, east of Pecos. Returning the party went west to Ácoma and Zuñi where they found four Mexican Indians who had remained there from Coronado's time. Practically the entire pueblo region had been seen and they now returned to Santa Bárbara, though Fathers Rodriguez and Lopez remained at Puaráy to establish a mission. January 31, 1582, the soldiers departed from Puaráy. They could not march rapidly as their leader, Chamuscado, was ill. He died before they reached Santa Bárbara two and one-half months later.

*Espejo's Relief Expedition.* Reports were now made to the viceroy on the prospects of the land. It was considered especially desirable to succor the two priests and investigate the mining possibilities reported by the soldiers. But before the slow-moving machinery in Mexico or Spain could be set in motion a private enterprise had been organized to rescue the friars. The Franciscans were particularly anxious about their brethren, and Fray Bernardino Beltrán was eager to accompany another *entrada*. At the same time there chanced to be visiting at Santa Bárbara Don Antonio Espejo, a rich merchant of Mexico, who was willing to act as leader and pay the expenses of a relief expedition. Accordingly a party of fifteen soldiers was organized and a license secured from the *alcalde mayor* of Cuatro Ciéneas. On November 10, 1582, the party set out from San Bartolomé equipped with one hundred and fifteen horses and mules.

Like the Rodriguez expedition Espejo's group went down the Conchos to the junction and up the Rio Grande. Above the junction the soldiers passed through Jumano villages, and after passing two other tribes entered the pueblo region. They were soon at Puaráy where the death of the two missionaries, Rodriguez and Lopez, was verified. With the purpose of the journey completed they

might have returned, but for this Espejo was not ready. His desire for exploration was approved by Father Beltrán, and off they went to the vicinity of the buffalo plains. They soon returned and spent some time visiting most of the pueblos on the Rio Grande and its branches, the Queres, Sia and Jemez. Then their path went westward to Acoma and Zuñi where they conversed with the Indians left by Coronado. A part of the expedition, including Father Beltrán, was now ready to return to Nueva Vizcaya. But the rest, with Espejo, were bent on finding a lake of gold which had been reported toward the northwest. The mythical lake eluded their grasp, but at Moqui a gift of four thousand cotton blankets was heaped upon them. These Espejo sent back to Zuñi with five soldiers, while the remaining four accompanied him to the region of rich ores farther west. This was in the western part of Arizona, in the region of Bill Williams Fork.

Back at Zuñi, where Espejo now proceeded, he found Father Beltrán still waiting. But the latter was tired of waiting and now returned to San Bartolomé, while Espejo continued to search for riches. Going east once more Espejo visited the Queres, the Ubates, where mineral prospects were found, and the Tanos. Then, because of the smallness of his following, he determined to return. Going down the Pecos one hundred and twenty leagues the Jumanos conducted him to the Conchos. He reached San Bartolomé September 20, 1583, a short time later than Father Beltrán.

*Results of these Entradas.*—Either of the expeditions of Rodriguez and Espejo, small as they were, accomplished almost as much as the great army which Coronado had led. In practical results they were vastly more important. Coronado's *entrada* had demonstrated that the Seven Cities were a hollow phantom. His exploits were well nigh forgotten. But the glowing accounts of Rodriguez and Espejo stimulated new interest in the country as a field of great opportunity. A lake of gold and mining possibilities had been reported. The frontier was aglow with enthusiasm.

*The Conquest of New Mexico Authorized.* Meanwhile the viceroy made a report to the king regarding the Rodríguez expedition. In response came a royal cédula, April 19, 1583, instructing him to make a contract for the settlement of the new region. The royal treasury could not be drawn upon for this purpose, and the Council of the Indies had to approve whatever plans might be arranged.

*The Applicants.* Numerous applicants soon appeared to take advantage of this order. The first was Cristóbal Martín, of Mexico, who made extravagant demands. After him came Espejo, who negotiated directly with the crown. Francisco Diaz de Vargas, an official of Puebla, also sought the distinction. Each of these was ready to spend large sums of money on the enterprise.

Several years had now elapsed and nothing had been accomplished. Before the Marquis of Villamanrique was sent to New Spain as viceroy, the problem of choosing a suitable candidate was thoroughly considered in a *junta* which he attended. The inference is that none of those who had till then sought the privilege were judged worthy. In order that there might be no further delay Villamanrique was reminded of the importance of choosing a qualified leader at once. He was given full power, except that the project had to be made without royal support.

Juan Baustista de Lomas y Colmenares, famed as the wealthiest man in Nueva Galicia, was the first one of whom we have any record to petition Villamanrique for the conquest of New Mexico. Though Lomas was very exacting in his demands the viceroy approved the proposal March 11, 1589, and it was then forwarded to Spain, only to be entirely disregarded.

*Castaño's Illegal March.* In the next year occurred an unlooked-for *entrada* which put a stop to the immediate plans for the conquest of New Mexico. It was made by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, lieutenant-governor of Nueva Leon, who effected an unlicensed entrance. From the town of Alamadén, now Monclova, established in 1590, he started

on July 27, with more than one hundred and seventy persons, including women and children. About August 21 messengers had been sent to Mexico, and in September the expedition halted at the Bravo for three weeks awaiting their return.<sup>3</sup> They had probably been sent to secure the viceroy's approval for entering New Mexico. They did not come back. Meantime the viceroy informed the king of what had occurred, for on April 9, 1591, it was decreed that neither Carabajal's lieutenant, nor anyone else, might conquer New Mexico without the viceroy's order. Moreover the king ordered that no one named by Carabajal should be chosen to carry out the conquest.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile Castaño, unaware of what was coming led his expedition to the Pecos after overcoming numerous hardships. Late in December the first pueblo was sighted, perhaps Pecos. In the exploration that followed he may have gone as far north as Taos, down to the Queres, and "to the province where the padres were said to have been killed years before."<sup>5</sup> On returning from the tour to the latter place he was informed by the Indians that another body of Spaniards had arrived. It proved to be Captain Juan Morlete, who had come with fifty men to arrest him by order of the viceroy "for having made an *entrada* of New Mexico and enslaved some Indians without order or license."<sup>6</sup> Castaño's entire force accordingly left New Mexico by way of the Rio Grande in the summer of 1591.

*Leyva and Humaña.* About 1593 another unauthorized expedition was made to New Mexico by Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humaña. They started from Nueva Vizcaya and spent about a year among the pueblos, making San Ildefonso their headquarters. They went east to the buffalo country and finally made an excursion to

3. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 102, note 15.

4. *Real cedula al virrey de la Nueva España*, April 9, 1591, Archivo General de Indias, 87-5-1.

5. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 106.

6. *Real Cedula a la audiencia de Nueva España*, January 17, 1593, A. G. I., 87-5-1.

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Kansas. On the way Humaña killed Leyva, but was in turn destroyed a little later with most of his followers.

After the first of these interruptions had passed away renewed efforts were made by wealthy individuals to win the right to settle New Mexico. Velasco was now viceroy, and to him Lomas in 1592 repeated his earlier petition. Nothing came of his offer since the terms were considered exorbitant by the king.<sup>7</sup> Then appeared Francisco de Urdiñola, lieutenant-governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and a contract was made with him for the conquest. However he was shortly accused of poisoning his wife and thus lost the opportunity. Lomas made a third fruitless attempt in 1595, the last application before that of Don Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas.

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7. *Real cedula al virrey de Nueva España*, January 17, 1593, A. G. I., 87-5-1.

## Chapter II

### THE CONTROVERSY OVER OÑATE'S CONTRACT

*Oñate's Qualifications.* It was not till 1595 that the conquest of New Mexico was finally awarded to the man who was destined to fulfill the mission. At that time Don Juan de Oñate, the descendant of a family distinguished in the annals of New Spain,<sup>8</sup> was given the contract.<sup>9</sup> The conditions under which the agreement had been arranged seemed favorable. The viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, was his intimate friend,<sup>10</sup> and had accordingly shown great generosity in placing his sanction on the enterprise.<sup>11</sup> There appeared to be no question of Don Juan's fitness for the task, even if we consider certain stringent qualities, which, according to an earlier decision of the viceroy, a competent *adelantado* must possess. On January 30, 1595, shortly after Francisco de Urdiñola had been arrested and before Oñate had considered going to New Mexico, Velasco lamented the fact that he knew of no one in the kingdom capable of managing such a great undertaking, "for the service of God and your majesty and the good of the natives."<sup>12</sup> As a faithful servant of the king it was his conviction that the conqueror must continue the work of converting the heathen even though gold or silver mines might not be discovered. There was the danger. The possibility of finding precious metals was a prime motive in any discovery, and Velasco regretted that ordinarily the explorers would desert as soon

8. Cornish. "The Ancestry and Family of Juan de Oñate," in Stephens and Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 452.

9. "Petition to the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, for the journey of exploration . . . . and capitulations of the viceroy with Don Juan de Oñate, Mexico, September 21, 1595," in Hackett, C. W. *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 225-255. Hereafter cited as Oñate's contract.

10. Villagrá, Capitán Gaspar de, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*. (Mexico, 1900) I, 27.

11. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 225-255, *passim*.

12. Letter of Viceroy Velasco to the king, Mexico, January 30, 1594, in *ibid.*, 221.

as the dearth of such wealth was realized. The proposed pacification and conversion would thereby be completely defeated, the baptized Indians would at once relapse into barbarism, and the deserting soldiers and colonists commit outrages and assaults on the Indians, which must invariably make the very name of Christians contemptible and odious among the heathen. The viceroy realized these facts and confessed that such had been the experience in other explorations.<sup>13</sup>

Velasco's discouragement over Urdiñola's fate, as evidenced by the above letter, was forgotten when Oñate came forward and sought to lead an expedition to the "otro" Mexico.<sup>14</sup> Various motives entered into Don Juan's determination to risk his fortune and reputation in this venture, chief of which, perhaps, was the hope of glory and material gain. These considerations always played a part in any conquest undertaken by the Spaniards.<sup>15</sup> Nor can we overlook the religious reason which was ever prominent in these entradas. But a different incentive also appears. Oñate had just suffered the loss of his wife, and like the famous Simón Bolívar of South America determined to conquer his grief by dedicating himself in a greater way than before to the service of his majesty.<sup>16</sup>

The first negotiations seemed destined to bear fruit. In the summer of 1595 he had petitioned the viceroy for the honor and privilege of undertaking this conquest, which had been awaiting the beckon of some enterprising character since the days when Espejo reexplored the land and reported it good. To Velasco the new *conquistador* seemed the man for the job. Reporting to his sovereign the circumstances of the contract made with Oñate, he stated that Don Juan was better qualified to conquer this "new" Mexico

13. Letter of Velasco to the king, January 30, 1595, in *ibid.*

14. Oñate's contract, in *ibid.*, 225.

15. Cunningham Graham, R. B. *The Conquest of New Granada*, viii.

16. *Relacion que hizo Don Luis de Velasco . . . . del estado en que hallo y dexo aquel reyno quando le promevieron al virreynato del Peru*, 1595, A. G. I., 2-2-4-4.

than any of those who had formerly sought the honor.<sup>17</sup> Moreover before Velasco had actually accepted Oñate for this conquest some correspondence had taken place between the two in which the viceroy acknowledged the great services of Don Juan's ancestors as well as his own merits, and only regretted that things were in such a condition that he could not then open negotiations.<sup>18</sup> If additional proof of Oñate's standing is necessary it may be observed that Martín, Lomas, and Urdiñola were all men of wealth and achievement,<sup>19</sup> and when the viceroy stated that Don Juan de Oñate was better qualified than these it is evident that he was highly appreciated by his contemporaries.<sup>20</sup>

*Family Ties.* Don Juan's reputation was naturally enhanced by the standing of his father, Don Cristóbal, for after arriving in Mexico in 1524, the latter soon became engaged in exploring and conquering on the frontier of Nueva Galicia.<sup>21</sup> Here he proved himself equal to the dangers and responsibilities of the frontier. In 1538, on the death of the governor of Nueva Galicia, Don Cristóbal held that office a short time, and when Francisco Vázquez Coronado was named governor in 1539, he became lieutenant-governor. Heavy responsibilities soon devolved on him, for during the absence of Coronado in New Mexico the Indians of Nueva Galicia revolted, and it became his duty to quell the uprising. In doing so he distinguished himself by his prudence, justice and military skill.<sup>22</sup> After the Mixtón war, as this revolt is termed, was over, Don Cristóbal continued his exploring activities. In fact, he is reported to have conquered and settled the major part of Nueva Galicia at his own expense.<sup>23</sup> In 1548 we find him, in com-

17. Velasco to the king, Mexico, October 14, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 257.

18. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 27.

19. See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 94-100.

20. Santiago del Riego to the king, Mexico, November 10, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 369ff. Riego gave Don Juan a remarkable sendoff in this letter; whether it was nobility of character, material resources, or the support of wealthy friends and relatives, he possessed them all.

21. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 454.

22. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 464-465; 490.

23. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227.

pany with three notable Spanish officers, exploring and pacifying the Indians in the vicinity of Zacatecas.<sup>24</sup> From the natives rumors of rich silver lodes in the neighborhood reached them and these they soon discovered. So abundant were these veins that they became the four wealthiest men in America at that time.<sup>25</sup>

Not much is known of Don Juan de Oñate before the year 1595. He appears to have been born in México,<sup>26</sup> but neither his native town nor the date of his birth has been preserved. Our knowledge of his youth is equally meager. It seems that he entered the service of the king early in life. In his petition to Velasco in 1595, he stated that for more than twenty years he had been engaged in fighting and pacifying the Chichimecas, Guachichiles, and other Indians of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya at his own expense.<sup>27</sup>

*Influential Friends.* The meritorious experiences of Oñate's youth may, indeed, not have been different from those of many another frontier captain. However the distinguished services and great wealth of his father were a marked asset in obtaining preferment in the royal service. Furthermore the Oñate family was blessed with a host of friends among the best families of New Spain and Nueva Galicia. Don Juan had married into one of the famous colonial families. His wife was Isabel Tolosa Cortés Montezuma, great granddaughter of Montezuma, granddaughter of Cortés, daughter of Juan de Tolosa and Leonor Cortés de Montezuma.<sup>28</sup> Juan's four brothers, Don Fernando, Don Cristóbal, Luís Nuñez Pérez, and Don Alonso, were all wealthy and rendered valuable assistance in the conquest of New Mexico. Of these the first three and María de

24. Mota Padilla, *Historia de la conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, 194-195.

25. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 554; Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 55.

26. Probably in 1540, *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, April 6, 1622, A. G. I., 66-5-10.

27. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227.

28. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 170; Cornish, *op. cit.*, 459, and table facing 452.

Galarsa, their only sister, married successfully.<sup>29</sup> Don Alonso seems to have remained single.

Don Juan also had the support of four famous nephews, the Zaldívar brothers, Cristóbal, Francisco, Juan and Vicente, who achieved distinction in the service of the king.<sup>30</sup> In addition he had the support of Diego Fernández de Velasco, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, with whom he had conferred in regard to the contract;<sup>31</sup> of Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, who had been instrumental in opening up mines in Nueva Vizcaya, a man who possessed enormous cattle ranches there and had at one time been governor of the same province;<sup>32</sup> of Santiago del Riego, an *oidor* of the audiencia of Mexico, who in 1596 had spent thirty-three years in audiencia service;<sup>33</sup> of Maldonado, likewise of the audiencia; of Don Antonio de Figueroa; Ruy Diaz de Mendoza; and Juan Cortés, great-grandson of Cortés.<sup>34</sup> These are the names of some of the influential men who encouraged Oñate and supported him in the proposed conquest. Moreover Velasco the viceroy always dealt liberally with him and recommended him to the king for the bestowal of greater favors,<sup>35</sup> so long as these demands did not exceed or controvert the royal ordinances of 1573, regulating new discoveries. Velasco was a very popular ruler, intelligent and

29. Cornish *op. cit.*, 461-462. Mrs. Cornish states that Luis Nuñez was unmarried, which is an error. He was married to a daughter of Vicente de Zaldívar. *Memoria de cargos y capítulos que se averiguaron contra el Doctor Valderrama . . . . Mexico, 1610.* A. G. I., Camara, no. 273.

30. Cornish, *op. cit.*, 463. There has been some argument as to whether the Zaldívar brothers were Oñate's cousins or nephews. In the documents they are always referred to as *sobrinos*, never as cousins. Cf. Bancroft *Arizona and New Mexico*, 117 note 9.

31. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 28.

32. Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization*, 56, 58; Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 16, 17.

33. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1595, in *ibid.*, 369-375; cf. Villagrá *Historia* I, 28.

34. Villagrá *Historia*, I, 28-29. Villagrá states that the greater number of these men were descendants of Juan de Tolosa, founder of Zacatecas, and of the illustrious Salas, its first alcalde.

35. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 285, 287, 248.

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learned. He had resided in the country many years and had occupied various important positions. As viceroy he was accordingly beloved by his people. This fact helps us to understand his generous attitude toward Don Juan de Oñate.<sup>36</sup>

*The Petition and Contract.* The lengthy document in which Don Juan presented his petition for the conquest of New Mexico was read before the viceroy on September 21, 1595.<sup>37</sup> He examined the petition and contract, and gave a detailed opinion on every proposal in the form of extensive marginal notes. Most of the proposals were accepted without change; some were modified; and others rejected outright. Several copies of the contract have recently come to light as the result of investigations in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, proving abundantly that it is the document by which Oñate was awarded the discovery and conquest of New Mexico.<sup>38</sup>

The only writer who has seen or made any use of this contract is Josiah Gregg. He obtained a copy of the document from the Secretary of State at Santa Fé, and gave a brief resumé thereof in his "Commerce of the Prairies." He accurately stated the proposals made by Oñate, but gave no indication as to what demands were granted or rejected by the viceroy in his marginal decrees. Gregg merely satisfied himself with the generalization that "although these exorbitant demands were not all conceded, they go to demonstrate by what incentives of pecuniary interest, as well as of honor, the Spanish monarch sought the 'descubrimiento, pacificación y conversión,' as they modestly termed it, of the poor aborigines of America."<sup>39</sup> Nor does Gregg have any information of the delays and changes that occurred with the coming of the new viceroy, the Count of

36. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 758; Riva Palacio, *Mexico a través de los siglos*, II, 449.

37. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 225-255. According to Villagrá, the poet and historian of the expedition, the viceroy made a contract with Oñate on August 24, 1595. There is no evidence to support this statement.

38. Two copies of the contract are in A. G. I., 1-1-8-22; another in 58-3-15; another in 58-3-12; another, 58-3-14.

39. Gregg, Josiah, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 117-19.



A PAGE OF THE OÑATE CONTRACT

Monterey. Bancroft was unable to find a copy of this document so he followed Gregg in his narrative.<sup>40</sup>

*Terms of the Contract.* According to the terms of the contract which Oñate had entered into, he was obliged to recruit a minimum of 200 men, fully equipped with the necessary supplies and provisions. This was to be done entirely at his own cost, though he was permitted to enlist soldiers ~~defraying~~ their own expenses. The royal treasury was not to be called upon to provide salaries for any part of the army whatever. Don Juan offered, among other things, to take 1000 head of cattle, 3000 sheep for wool, another 1000 for mutton, 1000 goats, 100 head of black cattle, 150 colts, 150 mares, quantities of flour, corn, jerked beef, and sowing wheat. There were also numerous minor articles including horseshoe iron and nails, footgear, medicine, bellows, iron tools of various kinds, gifts to the Indians, cloth and paper. These supplies were to be held in reserve till the new settlements should be reached, but in case of extreme necessity could be used while on the march. For this latter purpose additional supplies were to be furnished by Oñate.<sup>41</sup>

Don Juan realized the necessity of providing regally for his own needs on this great expedition. His wardrobe was therefore carefully selected. As part of his personal equipment he agreed to take twenty-five horses, a like number of mules with harness, two coaches with mules, two iron-tired carts with mules, six light cavalry saddles, six trooper's saddles, six leather shields, six lances, twelve halberds, six coats of mail, six cuishes, six helmets with beavers, six sets of horse armor, six harquebuses, six swords and daggers, two complete corselets, two stands of arms, and six buckskin jackets. These things Oñate promised to have in readiness at Santa Bárbara by the end of March 1595, but with this the viceroy was not satisfied and required him to be ready two months earlier.<sup>42</sup>

40. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 116-117.

41. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227-229.

42. Oñate's contract, *ibid.* 229.

*Oñate's Titles.* Oñate was granted the titles of governor and captain-general for two generations on condition that he fulfill his part of the contract. The viceroy promised to supplicate the king to extend this period an equal length of time. He was also to have the title of adelantado on taking possession of the land. This honor was to endure as long as the governorship, and Velasco agreed to seek a similar extension of the office.<sup>43</sup>

*Aid Furnished by the Crown.* To minister unto the Spaniards and convert the natives Oñate was granted five priests and a lay brother, with all necessary equipment, at royal expense. To aid in maintaining peace in the province he was allowed three field pieces, thirty quintals of powder, one hundred quintals of lead and one dozen coats of mail, though he had to pay for the latter item.<sup>44</sup> Oñate also secured a six year loan of 6000 pesos;<sup>45</sup> much more had been requested. In addition he might requisition the carts and wagons needed.<sup>46</sup>

An eagerly sought privilege granted Oñate was the right of *encomienda* for three generations. Land was to be given the settlers, and they were to be ennobled and to become *hidalgos* with the right to enjoy "all the honors and privileges . . . that all noblemen and knights of the kingdom of Castile. . . enjoy."<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore Oñate was to receive a salary of 6000 ducats,<sup>48</sup> to name the officials of the expedition,<sup>49</sup> appoint and remove *alguaciles*, set up a royal treasury and name its officials, exploit mines though paying only a tenth instead of the usual fifth,<sup>50</sup> erect forts, suppress rebellion,

43. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 235-237.

44. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 231.

45. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 237. Many accounts state that Oñate received 10,000 pesos, of which 4,000 were a gift. See Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I., 670; Rivera Cambas, *Los gobernantes de Mexico*, I., 70; Vetancurt, *Chronica*, 95; *Calle Memorial y Noticias Sacras*, 102; Cavo *Los tres siglos de Mexico*, I., 226.

46. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 231-233.

47. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 237-239.

48. *Ibid.*, 241.

49. *Ibid.*, 239.

50. *Ibid.*, 243.

make laws and divide the land into governmental districts.<sup>51</sup> These powers were not absolute, but usually limited to approval by the crown.

Two articles of Oñate's contract were of special significance. In the first place he was made directly subject to the Council of the Indies. Under this arrangement neither the viceroys of New Spain nor neighboring audiencias could interfere in the administration of his government. This provision was considered of prime importance by Oñate. It meant that he would, to all intents and purposes, be entirely independent. He would not be subject to any petty interference from officials in Mexico. Only to the Council of the Indies in Spain would he be required to render account of his actions. From New Mexico Seville would indeed be far, far away.<sup>52</sup>

In the second place Oñate might recruit men in any part of the kingdom of Spain. This was in a manner corollary to the above privilege. When in need of reinforcements, which must inevitably be secured in New Spain or Nueva Galicia, it would not be necessary to ask permission from the viceroy or audiencia. Such subservience involved the possibility of refusal, and at a critical time, might mean the difference between success and failure to the conquerors of New Mexico. The fact that Velasco approved Oñate's request for these favors is not startling, for it was done by authority of the royal ordinances of 1573 regulating new conquests.<sup>53</sup>

Some additional points in Oñate's agreement with the viceroy deserve mention. Practical freedom was given him in levying tribute; neighboring officials were to give

51. *Ibid.*, 245.

52. Oñate's contract, *ibid.*, 247; cf. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies*, 21-24; 29.

53. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 247. In 1573 was issued a set of ordinances governing new discoveries, conquest, and pacifications. They were intended to govern and control all exploration and settlement undertaken in the colonies, and were addressed to the viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors, and all other persons whom they might in any manner concern. See "Ordenanzas de su magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones. Julio de 1573;" in *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XVI, 142-187.

all possible assistance in the enterprise; Oñate might annually bring two ships duty free to his province; provisions for the colony were exempt for ten years and supplies for Oñate's household for twenty years, while excise taxes were not to be paid for twenty years. In each case an extension of these privileges was sought.<sup>54</sup>

Some of the outstanding requests refused by the viceroy included the giving of encomiendas to Oñate's brothers in Mexico<sup>55</sup> and the right of the adelantado to appoint a substitute that he might leave the province.<sup>56</sup>

On his part Don Juan obligated himself to execute the conquest "in all peace, friendship and Christianity." At the same time he asked that instructions be given him for his guidance in settling the problems that would arise in New Mexico. This was promised, and they were issued a short time later.<sup>57</sup>

In order to insure success Oñate requested that his patent of discovery and exploration should take precedence over that of any other person who might conceivably come from Spain with another capitulation signed by the king. To this Velasco replied that he was making the contract "by commission and order of his majesty," and that it should take effect from the day on which it was signed and sealed.<sup>58</sup> In case another should come from Spain with prior rights he was reserved the privilege to collect from the intruder any expenses that might already have been incurred for the expedition.<sup>59</sup> Finally the viceroy pledged

54. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 247-249.

55. *Ibid.*, 245.

56. *Ibid.*, 249.

57. *Ibid.*, 233. They were issued on October 21, 1595.

58. *Ibid.*, 251. There is no documentary evidence that this was not on September 21, 1595. Torquemada and Calle state the capitulations were finished on September 30. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 670; Calle, *Noticias*, 102. I believe it perfectly certain from the contract that the former date is the correct one.

59. *Ibid.*, 251-258. Professor Hackett's statement that if "a person should come from Spain with a similar contract signed by the king, this was not to annul his contract, but on the other hand he was to be permitted to execute it notwithstanding," is not in accord with the documents which he edits. *Ibid.*, 196. The viceroy approved the contract, and sent it to the king for final confirmation, reserving to Oñate the right to collect from his rival should one be sent by the king in the meantime.

in the name of the king to carry out the agreement in full and to petition for the many additional favors and privileges sought by the Zacatecas applicant.

In this manner the Spanish conquerors enumerated their own obligations and the concessions which the king must grant them before they would risk their lives and fortunes in seeking wealth and glory in new conquests. Oñate's contract was in no wise extraordinary. It was typical of the capitulations made by all the conquerors from the earliest time. It illustrates the devious paths a man must follow if he desired to win glory in subjugating new lands and rescuing the souls of the aborigines.

*A Change of Viceroy.* It was unfortunate for the hero of our story that a change of viceroys should be made at the very time when the contract was under consideration. Such however was the case. On September 18, 1595, the fleet from Spain arrived at San Juan de Ulloa, bringing Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Acevedo, the Count of Monterey, who was to serve as viceroy of New Spain. At the same time the incumbent, Don Luis de Velasco, was promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>60</sup> The Count thus arrived to take charge of his new province three days before Velasco accepted Oñate as the conqueror of New Mexico and concluded a contract with him for that purpose.

*The Oculma Conference.* The arrival of a new viceroy called for ceremonies and formalities. These took place at the village of Oculma, six leagues from the city of Mexico, whither Velasco proceeded to welcome the new official.<sup>61</sup> Amid the festivities of the occasion the two viceroys conferred on the problems that the Count would at once be called upon to face.<sup>62</sup> These dealt with Vizcaino's expedition to the Californias; the sending of the annual supply ships to the Philippines; providing the retiring viceroy

60. Velasco's commission was signed June 5, 1595. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 766.

61. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 670.

62. *Relacion que hizo Velasco*, 1595. Cf. Martín Lopez de Gauna to Cristóbal de Oñate and Luys Nuñez Perez, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

with some means of going to his new charge in Peru; and the Oñate expedition for the exploration and pacification of New Mexico. With so many big undertakings to deal with at once the Count's equanimity was somewhat ruffled.<sup>63</sup> But he went to work with a will and secured from his predecessor an idea of the things that must be done.<sup>64</sup>

Up till the present time little or nothing has been known of the Oculma conference which took place sometime between October 14 and November 5, the date on which Monterey entered the city of Mexico.<sup>65</sup> In a letter to the king written in Mexico on October 14 Velasco mentioned the arrival of Monterey at San Juan de Ulloa on September 18, but said nothing of having seen him. On the contrary he wrote "In the few days that remain from now until the Count will enter this city, I will hasten to do, as I ought what your majesty orders me by it; and what I am not able to do I will communicate to the Count so that he may carry it out. . . ."<sup>66</sup>

From the above it is clear that the two officials did not meet before October 14. That they met directly thereafter seems equally certain. Writing in 1619, Martín Lopez de Gauna, then *escribano mayor*, stated that on October 21, 1595, Viceroy Monterey chose Don Juan de Oñate as **governor of New Mexico**. Furthermore it was on October 21 that Velasco issued the instructions to Oñate which he was to observe in New Mexico and on the way thither.<sup>67</sup> The fact that these instructions were released on the same date confirms Gauna's testimony. Velasco's action in issuing them was clearly the result of Monterey's provisional approval as given at Oculma on October 21.

63. Monterey to the king, February 28, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 259.

64. *Relacion que hizo Velasco*, 1595. The document is not signed nor is the specific date given. However it was written before Christmas, 1595. All the letters that went by that dispatch boat were dated between December 16 and 28. The next batch of letters were sent by the second dispatch boat and were written on February 28, 1596.

65. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

66. Velasco to the king, October 14, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 255.

67. Martín Lopez de Gauna, May 20, 1619. A. G. I., 58-8-18.

68. *Copia de la instruccion a Oñate*, October 21, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

*The Contract Approved Conditionally.* In regard to what actually occurred at Oculma we have brief accounts by both of the principal actors.<sup>69</sup> The retiring viceroy, it is clear, laid the entire subject of the Oñate expedition before the Count.<sup>70</sup> This was in accord with Oñate's wish, for he did not want to go ahead with his preparations until assured that the new viceroy would approve the contract which Velasco had made.<sup>71</sup> At the time of their meeting affairs had progressed to such an extent that it required but a nod of assent from Monterey to make the contract a legal document. The Count would then have been unable to make any changes should he later have deemed it expedient, without proceeding against Oñate in the courts. Monterey hesitated but finally refused to give the requisite approval till he could examine Don Juan's qualifications for the task and the provisions of the contract with care, and he contended that this could not be done without going to Mexico City.<sup>72</sup>

Realizing that the fortunes of his friend were in serious jeopardy Velasco now proposed that Don Juan should be given his patents and commissions, and he even went so far in his anxiety for Oñate's welfare that he agreed to assume the responsibility for his choice as leader of the enterprise.<sup>73</sup> Villagrá says that Velasco gave Monterey such abundant and convincing proof of the reputation and standing of Don Juan and his family that no one in New Spain could rival him as the right choice for the leader-

69. *Relacion que hizo Velasco, 1595; copia de un capitulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco scrivio a su magestad, December 28, 1595, A. G. I., 58-8-15; carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., Mexico, February 28, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.*

70. Martín Lopez de Gauna to Cristóbal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Perez, A. G. I., 58-8-15; *relacion que hizo Velasco, 1595; carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., February 28, 1596.*

71. Oñate to Monterey, Rio de Nasas, September 13, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 863.

72. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., February 28, 1596.* Monterey's approval of the contract, after Velasco had it before him, is confirmed by Velasco. *Relacion que hizo Velasco, 1595; el Consejo de Indias a S. M., Madrid, June 9, 1600 A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.*

73. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M., February 28, 1596.*

ship of the expedition.<sup>74</sup> Under such circumstances Monterey felt obliged to permit the issuance of Oñate's warrants on October 21, 1595. Nevertheless this sanction was merely provisional. In regard to the actual provisions of the contract, no final decision was reached. It was agreed, because Velasco insisted upon it, if we are to believe Monterey, that he was to study the contract somewhat at his leisure. Should he deem it desirable that any alterations be made he was to be at liberty to do so. This is the Count's version of the affair at any rate.<sup>75</sup>

According to Villagrá Oñate's diplomatic procedure at this particular time in securing the provisional permission to continue the expedition was of significance. He dispatched a courteous letter to the new viceroy congratulating him on his arrival in New Spain, and the Count made a gracious reply in which he expressed regret that Velasco had not concluded negotiations with Oñate, as he was an official of great prudence and distinction.<sup>76</sup>

Judging from the above it is at least clear that the two viceroys were not in complete accord. Velasco, the retiring official, who did not sail for Peru till February, 1596,<sup>77</sup> continued to follow the Oñate expedition closely. On December 23, in a short letter to the king regarding this matter, he gave an explanation of what had occurred. He said the pacification of New Mexico was still in Oñate's hands, but on certain conditions. From the letter it does not appear what these provisions were, but it probably refers to the provisional sanction given by Monterey at Oculma.<sup>78</sup>

74. Villagrá, *Historia*, I., 31.

75. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

76. Villagrá, *Historia*, I., 32, 34. These letters are not extant. Oñate states that he welcomed the viceroy on his arrival. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 363. Villagrá goes on to say that the Count of Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 363. Villagrá goes on to say that the Count of Monterey approved all that had been discussed between Oñate and Velasco without changing anything whatsoever, and that he did this by ordering Oñate to depart without delay and wishing both divine and viceregal blessings on the enterprise. Villagrá, *Historia*, I., 32.

77. *Don Luis de Velasco a S. M.*, February 25, 1596, A. G. I., 88-6-2.

78. *Copia de un capitulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco schivio a su magestad*. December 23, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15. Bancroft accepts the view that Monterey had requested Velasco to delay matters, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 118.

That the contract was merely given provisional approval by the Count is confirmed by Oñate also. He states that he received a letter from the new viceroy, dated at Oculma, in which Monterey "not only approved and confirmed what Velasco had done, but . . . ordered me to gather my provisions and ammunition in the shortest time possible for the said expedition, promising in the same letter to examine the articles of the agreement and send them to me, after correcting in them anything that seemed to need it. . . ."<sup>79</sup>

It is clear that the outcome of the first tilt with Monterey did not seem unfavorable, and Oñate expected to receive his final papers soon. But it took the Count a long time before he found the opportunity or the desire to review these negotiations. He complained it was because of the large amount of business on hand.<sup>80</sup> As we shall soon see Villagrá gave a very different explanation and ascribed the delay to the machinations of Oñate's enemies.<sup>81</sup> Whatever the cause may have been Oñate had to wait two months before anything was done by Monterey in this matter.

Meanwhile Oñate's brothers, Cristóbal and Luís Nuñez Pérez,<sup>82</sup> represented him in Mexico with the power of attorney which had been given them at Zacatecas on October 19, 1595.<sup>83</sup> On December 15 they appeared before Martín Lopez de Gauna, the *secretario de gobernación* in Mexico,

79. Oñate to Monterey, September 18, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 363.

80. *Copia de un capítulo de carta que el virrey Don Luis de Velasco scrivio a su magestad*, December 28, 1596. Bancroft's argument is that Monterey opposed Oñate's capitulation because he favored Don Pedro Ponce de Leon. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 118. There is nothing to support this view. Ponce was backed by the Council of the Indies.

81. Villagrá, *Historia*, I., 30. Cf. ch. 4 of this work.

82. Villagrá is therefore mistaken when he says:

"Y luego embio poder a don Fernando,  
A don Christoval, y a Luys Nuñez Perez,  
Tambien a don Alonso sus hermanos, . . .  
Estos capitularon la jornada, . . ."

Villagrá, *Historia*, I., 28.

83. *Aceptacion de las capitulaciones*, December 15, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-12.  
"Parecieron el thesorero Luys Nuñez Perez y Don Xpoual de Oñate . . . y dixerón que en virtud del poder que tienen de Don Juan de Oñate que passó ante pedro venegas scrivano rl de minas y registros de la ciudad de nuestra señora de las cacatecas . . ."

and accepted the capitulations made by Velasco with Don Juan for the conquest of New Mexico. They bound him to fulfill his duties in every respect and promised that he would not deviate one iota from the instructions which the viceroy had promulgated for his guidance on October 21.

*Oñate's Instructions.* It is of interest to note the nature of the instructions which the viceroy had issued to Oñate to guide his conduct in the conquest of New Mexico.<sup>84</sup> They illustrate how thoroughly conquering expeditions were clothed in missionary disguise. According to the law it was the chief desire of the crown to Christianize and civilize the natives. As a matter of fact conquerors undertaking to pacify new regions were usually bent on individual profit and glory.

First of all, Oñate was instructed to take oath and render homage to Vicente de Zaldívar, the king's "teniente de capitán general de Chichimecas." He was reminded that the chief purpose of the expedition was to serve God our Lord, to extend the holy Catholic faith, and to conquer and pacify the natives of the provinces of New Mexico. To this end the utmost effort should be exerted without violating his own selfrespect or oath of fealty. He was to fulfill, in every regard, the royal ordinances of 1573 regulating new conquests, and the contract made with him in accordance with those laws; to carry out the march with great care and discipline, informing the settlers and soldiers that in every case they must treat the Indians with such kindness as to insure peace.

Disorders must not be allowed. The missionaries were to be treated with consideration, for how otherwise would the natives obey the padres? Only honorable means were to be used in converting the Indians, and interpreters should be procured, if possible.

In view of the belief in a mythical Strait of Anian which connected the Atlantic and the Pacific,<sup>85</sup> Oñate was

84. *Copia de la instrucción a Oñate*, October 21, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

85. Bancroft gives a description of the current Spanish ideas of the Northern Mystery. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 13-15.

instructed to inform the viceroy of New Spain of his discoveries in the "North Sea" without delay. Careful reports were to be made on the coastline. Harbors were not to be used till proper regulations could be made, for the great secret must not be endangered. If an enemy learned of these things it would perhaps rob the Spaniards of the fruits of their discovery.

The Indians were to be persuaded to serve the white man, forced labor being prohibited. This applied to mining as well as to other occupations. Success in handling the Indians would eliminate the necessity of bringing in negros, which always complicated the problem of government.

All of these things Oñate was to observe with the diligence and care appropriate in order that the conquest might redound to the service of God, the growth of the holy Catholic faith, and of the royal crown.<sup>86</sup>

Monterey's Delays. Between the time of the issuance of these instructions and the coming of Monterey Don Juan was busy preparing his expedition.<sup>87</sup> Seemingly he did not think of obstructions being thrown in his way. But many were in store for him, due to the arrival of a new viceroy. It is true that Monterey was reputed to be a very excellent man, but he was otherwise unknown. He soon proved to be a very cautious official deliberating policies fully.<sup>88</sup> This caution on his part with the resultant delay gave rise to most of Oñate's difficulties, and to the judgment which contemporaries formed of Monterey. Torquemada could only call him a well intentioned man! He lacked the vision of a good ruler.<sup>89</sup>

Considering these characteristics of the new viceroy it is easier to follow his course of action in regard to the projected conquest of New Mexico, which had been postponed

86. *Copia de la instrucción a Oñate.*

87. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 81.

88. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 766 ff; Rivera Cambas, *Los gobernantes de Mexico*, I, 71.

89. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671; Rivera Cambas, *op. cit.*

until he could familiarize himself with the whole affair.<sup>90</sup> On December 20, 1595, he wrote a short letter to the king, stating that he had not yet reached any conclusion regarding the appropriateness of Oñate's contract.<sup>91</sup> He therefore asked the king to await additional information before approving the contract, for he feared that efforts were being made on Don Juan's part to secure final confirmation directly from the king.<sup>92</sup>

*Oñate Appeals to the Crown.* Oñate had been growing impatient while this long drawn out delay was slowly wearing itself away. Unable to secure the expected confirmation from the viceroy, he had, as Monterey feared, appealed directly to the king.<sup>93</sup> Oñate recalled the distinguished services of his father in the conquest of Nueva Galicia and his own determination to spend life and fortune in a similar cause. His contract had been accepted by Velasco. Excessive delays which had intervened were damaging the expedition materially, and he humbly sought a favorable decree from the king in a cause which was so important to the royal service. Oñate emphasized the fact that he had not contracted for anything besides what was granted in the ordinances of 1573, due to the fact that Lomas and Urdiñola had failed in the same cause since their demands had been deemed exorbitant.<sup>94</sup> But he did make one ur-

90. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

91. Monterey to the king, December 20, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 257-259. This is apparently a contradiction, for Oñate's letter of December 16, 1595, mentions one specific limitation made by Monterey, namely, in regard to ordinance 69, which provided that he should be directly subject to the Council of the Indies.

92. Monterey to the king, December 20, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 259. Viliagrá says that the Count was doing this secretly:

"Y con esto escriuio tambien a España,  
Coh notable secreto y gran recato,  
A vuestra Real Consejo que si fuessen,  
De parte de don Juan a que aprouasen,  
Aqueste assiento y causa ya tratada,  
Se suspendiese todo y dilatase,  
Hasta que el de otra cosa diesse auiso."

See his *Historia*, I., 30.

93. *Carta de Don Juan de Oñate a S. M.*, December 16, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

94. The statement Oñate here makes is bombastic if Monterey spoke the truth when he said that he modified Oñate's contract to make it similar to Urdiñola's. Five out of the eight articles modified were fashioned after that model. It seems to be true however that Lomas' contract was very extravagant. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 99-100.

gent request. He desired to be directly subject to the Council of the Indies, in accordance with the law, which would make him independent of the viceroy of New Spain and the audiencias.<sup>95</sup> This had been granted by Velasco but vetoed by Monterey.<sup>96</sup>

No relief followed this petition. The Count's report of December 20, and Oñate's appeal of December 16, were evidently received by the Council of the Indies at the same time and the viceroy's acted upon first.<sup>97</sup> Oñate's message was considered on March 11, 1595.<sup>98</sup> The Council heartily encouraged Don Juan but aside from that simply asked the viceroy and audiencia of New Spain to make further reports in this matter. Meanwhile no changes were to be made.<sup>99</sup>

*Monterey's Decision.* The Count of Monterey seems to have been somewhat inconsistent. At the time that he asked the king not to approve Oñate's pretensions he had already come to a decision in regard to at least one point. He had rejected the article permitting the governor of New Mexico to be immediately subject to the Council of the Indies.<sup>100</sup> All other doubts were cleared up immediately after the sending of the letter of December 20. In his next report to the crown the Count stated that he had come to a decision in regard to Oñate's contract during the Christ-

95. No. 69 the "Ordenances de su Magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos . . . Julio de 1573," in *Col. Docs. Ined.*, XVI, 161.

96. See below.

97. This is inferred from the decree of the Council in regard to Oñate's request, which read, "que esta bien como se a respondido al virrey." Decree in *Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.*, December 16, 1595. The reply here referred to is unquestionably the decree which appears on Velasco's letter of October 14, 1595, informing the king of the contract made with Oñate. It was acted upon by the Council on March 4, 1596. The decree reads: "Al Conde de Monterey se escrivia con esta rrelacion encargandole que entendido el estado en que dexa don Luys la guerra a esta pacificacion lo procure fauorecer para que se continue como cosa que se ha deseado y ynporta, y abise de tdo la que se hiziere. Hay una rubrica." Decree in *Carta de don Luis de Velasco a S. M.*, October 14, 1595, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

98. See *Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.*, December 16, 1595. "Vista en XI de Marco, 1596."

99. *Ibid.*, "Informen cerca desto virey y audiencia y en el entretanto no se haga nobedad."

100. *Carta de don Juan de Oñate a S. M.*, December 16, 1595

mas holidays.<sup>101</sup> On that occasion his capitulations were carefully compared with those formerly made with Lomas and Urdiñola, likewise for the conquest of New Mexico, and his conclusion was to limit some of the articles granted by Velasco even though they might be sanctioned by the laws of 1573. Monterey professed to have many reasons for acting in such a manner, the gist of which was that if Oñate merited reward it could be given in the future.

*Reasons for his Action.* The viceroy went on to explain his treatment of Oñate at some length. Ogaño's expedition to the Philippines, in which it seems he was particularly interested, and Vizcaino's expedition to the Californias were being recruited at the same time. He desired to speed up the former, and therefore had not allowed Oñate more than one recruiting squad although he thereby delayed the organization of his army. His reason for this was practical enough as he feared that so many simultaneous efforts to fill the requisite quotas would lead to serious trouble with the Indians. In former years there had been much difficulty in recruiting the necessary men for the Philippine service. While the troops were being enlisted the city of Mexico would be in a state of turmoil, since compulsion was frequently resorted to in order to get the desired number. Accordingly Monterey wanted to send off the more difficult sea expedition, fearing that everybody would flock to Oñate's standard as he would go by land. The results were as expected. Ogaño had no difficulty filling his quota, and thus at the time Monterey was writing, February 28, 1596, he had already permitted Oñate the privilege of sending out additional recruiting squads both in Mexico and in Nueva Galicia.<sup>102</sup> Monterey's caution in regard to arousing the Indians was in accord with his general policy as viceroy. He was determined to settle the Indian problem of New Spain which his predecessor had not accomplished. For that reason he did not wish

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101. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

102. *Ibid.*

to incur the hatred of the natives before attempting to carry out the plans of his administration.<sup>103</sup>

In addition the new viceroy was opposed to some parts of Oñate's contract, and he requested that these be not granted. He had conferred with his advisers in New Spain who were better informed in such matters, and they supported him. Oñate's independence of the viceroy of New Spain was not allowed.<sup>104</sup> Monterey felt that there was too great danger in giving him such freedom. The king's subject in New Spain should have recourse to the crown there, and not only in distant Spain. He considered it even less tolerable that there should be no appeal to the audiencias, as was provided in Oñate's contract. The audiencia served as a check on the viceroy; was it fitting that a mere governor should be completely unrestricted? Moreover doubts were cast on Oñate's fitness for the position of governor of New Mexico. He lacked property and funds, and was burdened with debts, so it was said.<sup>105</sup> These aspersions came at a critical moment. Previously, on December 20, 1595, Monterey advised delay. Now, two months later, he not only recommended reservations but actually cast serious reflections on Oñate's ability to carry out the conquest. These statements were duly considered by the Council of the Indies. They came at the time when Don Pedro Ponce de Leon was seeking the Council's permission to replace Oñate as governor of New Mexico.

*The Modifications.* The limitations made by Monterey in Oñate's contract were finally made known at Christmas time, 1595. Notice of what the viceroy had decided upon was sent to Luis Nuñez Pérez and Cristóbal, Oñate's brothers who represented him in Mexico. The modifications follow.<sup>106</sup>

First, the right to enlist soldiers and colonists was limited

103. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II., 787; Rivera Cambas, *op. cit.*, I. 71-72.

104. See below.

105. *Carta del Conde de Monterey a S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

106. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristóbal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Pérez (December, 1595?) A. G. I., 58-8-15.

to the expedition then being prepared by Oñate. If reinforcements were needed a special order must be sought from the viceroy. The appointment of the commissioned officers was limited in the same way.]

[Second, Oñate's right to appoint royal officials with suitable salaries was limited so that their pay should not exceed that of the officials in Mexico.]

[Third, instead of being independent of the viceroy and audiencia in Mexico, Oñate was made responsible to the viceroy in all matters of war and finance, and to the audiencia of Mexico in judicial and administrative affairs.]

[Fourth, Oñate had been permitted to send some ships to the "North Sea" which he was about to discover. This privilege was withdrawn.]

[Fifth, the Indians were to be persuaded, if possible, to pay tribute voluntarily. The governor might determine the amount, but he was required to seek the advice of the royal officials and of the prelates of the religious orders.]

[Sixth, all encomiendas of Indians granted by Oñate must be reported to the king and confirmation secured within three years.]

Seventh, the honor of becoming hidalgo with the same privileges as nobility of that rank enjoyed in Spain, was limited to those who persevered in the conquest for five years.]

Eighth, Oñate was ordered to pay for the thirty quintals of powder and one hundred quintals of lead which the king was to provide.]

*Acceptance of the Modifications.* Cristóbal de Oñate had been informed of these limitations of his brother's capitulations by Martín Lopez de Gauna, the *secretario de gobernacion*, without delay, it seems.<sup>107</sup> But in view of the fact that Don Juan's privileges had been so severely curtailed Cristóbal protested. In assuming this conquest it was his brother's principal motive, as well as his own, to

107. Martín Lopez de Gauna to Cristóbal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Pérez (December, 1596?) A. G. I., 58-3-15.

continue to serve the king as their family had hitherto done.<sup>108</sup> It was in that manner they hoped to win reward, rather than by seeking the fulfillment of those provisions in the contract which Monterey had limited. For that reason he consented to the modification of Oñate's contract, as the Count had stipulated, in order that the expedition might go on. Obviously that was the only course open to him. Cristóbal made one reservation, however. [He retained the privilege of appealing to the king for the restoration of the limitations which he had just assented to, and also made a special request of the viceroy. He asked that Don Juan be freed from the obligation of paying for the powder, lead and artillery as Monterey had required.] Cristóbal stated that it had been granted in order that Leyba and Humaña and their companions, who were thought to be in New Mexico, might be apprehended. The Count however was adamant. No concession would be made. But he did agree to investigate the particular reasons advanced and promised that if these proved sufficient to warrant the expense to give attention to the request.<sup>109</sup>

*The Expedition Authorized.* On the acceptance of Cristóbal de Oñate's letter the Count immediately dispatched a decree, giving Don Juan permission to use the contract which Velasco had made with him, provided the above limitations were added.<sup>110</sup> He was thus finally given an unrestricted right to proceed with the conquest and to enjoy all the privileges previously granted, with the exception of the restrictions just noted. For Oñate the clouds of

108. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, (January, 1596) A. G. I., 58-3-15. Cristóbal's reply was written in the margin of Gauna's letter containing the limitations made by Monterey. No date is given for either one, but it is evident that this correspondence took place between the Christmas Holidays of 1595 and January 13, 1596. The Count said he made the modifications at the former time. On the latter date the viceroy issued a decree acknowledging receipt of Don Cristóbal's letter wherein he agreed to the limitation of the contract in the name of his brother. This decree finally permitted Oñate to go ahead with the expedition.

109. Martin Lopez de Gauna to Cristóbal de Oñate and Luis Nuñez Perez.

110. January 13, 1596. *Aceptacion del consentimiento a la moderacion de las capitulaciones . . . . .* A. G. I., 58-3-15.

trouble at last seemed to have rolled away, but in the meantime a plot was hatching on the other side of the Atlantic. So we shall now leave Oñate to enjoy his temporary good fortune while we observe the development of events in Spain. For a time these affairs, centering about Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, threatened to upset Don Juan's hopes and to give an entirely different turn to the story of the conquest of New Mexico.

## Chapter III.

## DON PEDRO PONCE DE LEON

*Ponce Plans to Conquer New Mexico.* In the early months of 1596, there appeared on the scene still another competitor in the person of Don Pedro Ponce de León, Count of Bailén, ambitious to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. He was not a total stranger in New Spain,<sup>111</sup> for he had gone there with the Count of Coruña, who had served as viceroy from 1580 till his death in 1582.<sup>112</sup> Presumably Ponce had soon again returned to Europe as he does not reappear in the records of New Spain, but during 1596 and 1597, while seeking to win the leadership of the New Mexico project, he frequently occupied the attention of the Council of the Indies.

Before the month of April, 1596, had progressed very far he had petitioned the king for the right to lead an expedition for the conquest of New Mexico. On the 7th the Council of the Indies drew up a statement in regard to Ponce which disclosed the fact that he had by that time memorialized the crown for the right to undertake the coveted enterprise.<sup>113</sup> His purpose in assuming the direction of this great undertaking was, according to his own statement, entirely unselfish. He openly boasted that nothing other than the desire of furthering the service of his majesty could induce him to leave Spain. The station in life which he filled was already secure. His ancestors as counts of Bailén had never experienced want, but had always been able to serve the king. His object therefore

111. The Council of the Indies to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 298.

112. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 88-89.

113. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 298.

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was to distinguish himself above his forbears in some notable manner, and he purposed to win that glory by extending the dominions of the king to New Mexico. He sought no reward till the goal had been achieved, but actually insisted that none be provided.<sup>114</sup>

*The Council Supports Ponce.* When the Council took Ponce's memorials under consideration, it was already in possession of the letter written by the Count of Monterey on December 20, 1595.<sup>115</sup> In this letter, it will be recalled, the latter had asked the king that Oñate's expedition be not confirmed till he should have time to examine the contract with greater care. The Council now stressed this incident in a report to the king regarding Ponce's desire to be the conqueror of New Mexico. It further reported,<sup>116</sup> after having considered his petitions regarding this position, that in its opinion it would be possible to give the leadership of the undertaking to him, since Oñate's contract had not been accepted by the Count of Monterey when he became viceroy.

The reasons advanced to substantiate this argument are interesting. First of all the Council emphasized the personality of Don Pedro Ponce, whose intelligence and general qualifications particularly fitted him for the task. These favorable conditions would enable him to attract a large following, especially in New Spain, which would serve a double purpose. Not only would the expedition benefit thereby, but Mexico would be freed of many idle and useless people who were a nuisance to the officials of the province. Furthermore the practical members of the Council of the Indies<sup>117</sup> seemed quite willing that the Count of Bailén should leave his peaceful and quiet life in Spain to exchange it for a life of privation on the frontier of America, in order that he might, as he had previously stat-

114. Don Pedro Ponce de León to the king, Madrid, April 28, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 299.

115. This is apparent from the royal decree of May 8, 1596. See *ibid.*, 203 For Monterey's letter of December 20, 1595, see *ibid.*, 257.

116. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in *ibid.*, 293-295.

117. The Council was usually made up of high officials who had served in the New World. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies*, 15.

ed in his memorials, perform a great service for the king. Seemingly the Council gave only slight attention to the rights of Oñate other than to slur his reputation. It did however recommend that the viceroy be instructed to repay him if he should have made any preparations worthy of recompense.<sup>118</sup>

When the king received this communication he took no immediate action. He desired additional information and requested the Council to advise him more fully regarding Oñate.<sup>119</sup> This was done without delay. The reply consisted of a bitter attack on Oñate.<sup>120</sup> He was said not only to have wasted his fortune but to have incurred debts amounting to thirty thousand pesos, and was holding off his creditors by deceitful means. Since he was without money he would be unable to secure followers of repute, and his army must necessarily degenerate into a mob of desperadoes and vagabonds. His unfitness had already been demonstrated, for on a former expedition he had been unable to inspire respect or obedience among his men. These reports were said to have been given by persons of high standing who knew Oñate and had had dealing with him.<sup>121</sup>

Ponce on the other hand was represented as an admirable gentleman, an individual of such high standing and so well known in Mexico that he would at once secure a following of the best people in the province, since he intended to grant the latter all the profits of the new country. Ponce wished nothing for himself, but simply desired that any reward which he might receive for his service should be left entirely to the generosity of the king. In the eyes of the Council of the Indies Ponce was thus a distinguished and able man, while Oñate, whose contract had already been delayed by the viceroy, was painted in sordid

118. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295.

119. Royal decree in report of the Council of April 7, 1596. A. G. I., 140-7-88. It is not printed by Hackett.

120. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 299 ff.

121. Villagrá vigorously assails those who were spreading false reports about Oñate and lauds the courage and fortitude which he showed under those attacks. *Historia*, I, 81.

colors. The Council desired that the king confirm the former immediately so that the Oñate expedition might be recalled before it was too late.<sup>122</sup>

*The King Suspends Oñate.* Acting upon this advice the king decreed that instructions be given the Count of Monterey to suspend the execution of the contract which had been made with Don Juan.<sup>123</sup> He also authorized the Council to examine the proposals which Ponce offered for the conquest of New Mexico, and to reach an agreement with him if possible. The members of the Council could now rejoice, for the candidate of their choice had seemingly won.

After having expedited a formal decree to the viceroy of New Spain embodying the king's order to suspend Oñate,<sup>124</sup> the Council appointed the licentiate Augustín Alvarez de Toledo to confer with Ponce and to examine the conditions which he proposed for making the expedition.<sup>125</sup> Alvarez was also authorized to acquaint him with the details of Oñate's capitulations, and in addition to take note of how much more favorable terms Don Pedro would voluntarily offer for making the same conquest. A statement, drawn up in accordance with this order setting forth the claims of both Oñate and Ponce was therefore made and sent to the king, so that, as the Council suggested, he could see for himself that Ponce's offer was really much more advantageous than that of Don Juan. At the same time it definitely recommended that Ponce be awarded the contract and urged immediate action in order that he might be ready to sail with the fleet for New Spain. To this recommendation the king was not averse,<sup>126</sup> and he therefore

122. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 301.

123. Royal cédula in report of the Council of April 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303. See also *Historia*, I, 36, and "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico y sus acontecimientos. Años desde 1595 á 1602," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191.

124. Royal cédula to the viceroy of Spain, May 8, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 303.

125. The Council to the king, May 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303.

126. The king usually accepted the advice of the Council of the Indies in all matters relating to the colonies. Moses, B. *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, I, 282-284.

ordered that an agreement be made with Ponce for the conquest of New Mexico.<sup>127</sup>

*Ponce's Liberal Offer.* The statement which the Council referred to as showing the eminent desirability of Ponce's contract in preference to Oñate's, and of which a copy was sent to the king at the same time, has recently come to light in the Spanish archives.<sup>128</sup> It compares the terms offered by Ponce with those made by Don Juan and vividly shows the advantages of the former's capitulation.<sup>129</sup> For example Oñate had bound himself to enlist over two hundred soldiers and colonists; Ponce would increase this by one hundred mounted men. Don Juan had agreed to take 20,000 reales worth of flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef; Ponce offered to spend 39,000 reales for these materials.<sup>130</sup> Of live stock including cattle, sheep, goats, colts and mares, Oñate had provided for 6,400 head, but again Ponce completely outdid him by offering to increase this number to 13,900. Instead of six bellows, as Oñate had stipulated, Don Pedro would bring fourteen; in a group of materials including footgear, medicine, gifts to the Indians, paper, cloth, iron tools, and iron for horseshoes, Oñate's offer was completely eclipsed. His sum was 38,400 reales; that of Ponce 79,400. Twenty ox carts had been specified by Oñate; his competitor would provide thirty. In no case did any of Ponce's proposals fall below those made by his rival. The latter's personal equipment of horses, mules, saddles, arms,

127. The Council to the king, May 19, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 303-305.

128. "Statement of what Don Juan de Oñate and Don Pedro Ponce de León offer for the exploration, pacification, and settlement of New Mexico, [1596?]" in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 281 ff. It bears no date or signature, but it was made before May 19, 1596, since the Council states that a copy was sent to the king on that date together with its report regarding Don Pedro. Council of the Indies, May 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303. Furthermore it could not have been drawn up before May 2, for not till that time did the king order Oñate's contract suspended. At the same time he had authorized the Council to make a separate capitulation with Don Pedro. Royal cédula in report of the Council of the Indies of April 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 303.

129. The statement is in double column, each article in Oñate's contract being paralleled by and contrasted with Don Pedro's offer.

130. The figures in Ponce's offer are given in reales, while on Oñate's side of the ledger they are expressed in pesos. For the sake of convenience in comparison I have converted the latter to reales.

etc., was, in general, increased an equal amount, and in addition Ponce would take shields, helmets, muskets and crossbows, for which no provision had been made by Don Juan. Moreover many of the concessions demanded by Oñate were not now mentioned.<sup>131</sup> By this strong bid Ponce, Count of Bailén, thus strove to secure the honor of conquering New Mexico.

*Ponce and Alvarez Negotiate.* During the summer months of 1596, the licentiate Agustín Alvarez de Toledo, acting for the Council of the Indies, reached an agreement with Ponce for the proposed conquest, and forwarded it to the Council for approval. This was given, and the papers were then sent to the king for final confirmation September 7, 1596.<sup>132</sup>

While the terms of a contract were being arranged the aspiring conqueror specified some particular things which he desired his contract to contain. Some of these requests have been preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain,<sup>133</sup> in the form of rough notes, evidently made by some clerk for the convenience of Alvarez or the Council.<sup>134</sup> They are, with one exception, undated and unsigned, but do contain decrees of approval or dissent and carry rubrics.<sup>135</sup> Their chief importance rests in the

131. Statement of what Oñate and Ponce offer, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 281. ff.  
132. The Council to the king, September 7, 1596, in *ibid.*, 305.

133. A. G. I., 1-1-8/22.

134. "Don Pedro Ponce de León prays that your worship will propose to the members of the Council that they shall grant him what is stated in the following articles. [Madrid, April 28, 1596]," in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295-299. The decrees approving or refusing these requests are not given by Professor Hackett.

135. These papers were published by Professor Hackett under date of April 23, 1596, which is date of a letter of Ponce de León, in which he elaborates on his reason for desiring to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. (See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 295-299) None of the other papers were written that early, as an examination of the internal evidence shows. It was not till May 2, 1596, that the king authorized the Council to look into the conditions proposed by Ponce, (Royal decree in report of the Council of the Indies of April 25, 1596, in *ibid.*, 301-303) and on May 19 that Alvarez was named to act for the Council. Moreover Ponce stated in one of these notes that a creditable person had come to Madrid from New Spain, bringing certain information which showed Oñate's inability to manage the expedition honorably; that his captains had left Mexico with only a handful of men, most of whom were half-breeds and mulattos; and that so many outrages had been committed that the viceroy and audiencia had been constrained to send an alcalde to punish the lawless

fact that they show us some special privileges which Ponce requested in order to make his venture successful. In particular he wanted to be made governor of Nueva Vizcaya on completion of the incumbent's term.<sup>136</sup> That would enable him to place a lieutenant in that government, and to order reinforcements sent to New Mexico without appealing to the officials in New Spain, which was usually a dubious affair and likely to involve ruinous delay.

Ponce's request was not granted. The king merely informed the governor of Nueva Vizcaya of the contract and ordered him to aid the new conqueror in whatever he might need and ask for, specifically requiring him to return any runaway soldiers found in Nueva Vizcaya.<sup>137</sup> That was as far as the king would go in this matter. He did not want the adelantado of New Mexico to become too powerful.

*Nature of the Contract.* The contract which the Council of the Indies had made with Ponce de León does not differ materially from the one which the viceroy had concluded with Oñate, though its provisions are, on the whole,

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bands. This "creditable person" could not possibly have reached Madrid as early as April 23. On February 28 the viceroy had reported to the king (*Carta del conde de Monterey á S. M.*, February 28, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15) that the New Mexico expedition was being recruited and that it was planned to carry out the march to the new province in June. On April 17 further reports were sent. Most of the colonists assembled in Mexico were then on the march, said the viceroy, and the rest would be hurried forward in order that the expedition might be made that year. (*El Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, April 17, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15) No disturbances are mentioned, but when writing on November 15, (Monterey to the king, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 377, he reported that it had been necessary to send an alcalde, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, to stop the outrages, "which were not so bad as rumor indicated." These complaints reached the viceroy by the first of June. (Order of Monterey, June 10, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*, A. G. I., 58-3-14) In view of the slowness of communication it is safe to state that the report did not reach Madrid till July or August, and that Ponce then sent his note to the Council.

Another point might be singled out for mention. Ponce's contract, approved September 25, 1596, allowed him to bring two ships of two hundred tons burden each to the Indies. This proved impracticable and he petitioned for permission to use vessels of different size, and to sail before the *flota*. (See Ponce's petition in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 297. The king's answer came on October 26, 1596, granting Ponce's request in full. (Royal cédula, in *ibid.*, 341) It would thus seem more accurate to date these papers in September rather than in April, 1596.

136. Petition of Ponce, *in ibid.*, 297.

137. Royal cédula, October 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 337.

characterized by greater concessions to Ponce.<sup>138</sup> This is not strange in view of the fact that the latter had demanded less of the king and had promised to equip a larger expedition entirely at his own expense. Nor can we forget that the Council particularly favored his cause and seemingly urged him to accept favors at the hands of the king.<sup>139</sup>

It has already been observed that Ponce agreed to assemble three hundred soldiers for the expedition, all to be recruited in the Indies. In order to enlist so many men every facility was placed at his command.<sup>140</sup> The supplies required for the support of the expedition after the new lands had been reached, the flour, maize, wheat, cattle, etc., remained the same as Ponce had first proposed to the Council early in 1596.<sup>141</sup> One new article of importance provided that he would bring one hundred and thirty officials and servants of his own household to New Mexico, the married ones to be accompanied by their wives and families. In addition thereto one hundred soldiers might be recruited at home. After all, the entire three hundred need not be secured in the colonies, and the king instructed the Casa de Contratación to permit them to leave Spain.<sup>142</sup> The order was in no way compulsory, only certain objectionable classes being prohibited from going to the Indies.<sup>143</sup>

No export duties were to be paid by any of these men who enlisted in Spain, nor was Ponce to pay such duties. Cédulas embodying these favors were issued by the king and sent to officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia.<sup>144</sup>

138. It was approved by the king on September 25, 1596. *ibid.*, 305.

139. See the Statement of what Oñate and Ponce offer, in *ibid.*, 281-293, *passim*.

140. Contract and agreement with Don Pedro Ponce de León, September 25, 1596. in *ibid.*, 307-317. (Hereafter cited as Ponce's contract) For special cédula confirming this privilege, see *ibid.*, 323-325.

141. The contract reads that 290 colts and 290 mares were to be taken to New Mexico, which is evidently an error for 250. See *ibid.*, 485 note 27.

My copy of the same document also gives the number as 290.

142. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 385.

143. Licenses had to be procured for going to the Indies, and the emigrant had to prove himself an orthodox Catholic before it would be issued. Robertson, W. S. *History of the Latin-American Nations*, 124.

144. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 315; royal cédula, October 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 337-339.

In the personal equipment of the two conquerors we also find a decided difference. Ponce in particular had bound himself to bring an elaborate supply of materials for this purpose, presumably to emphasize the greater distinction of his own person.<sup>145</sup>

There were also some special provisions in Ponce's contract with the king. He agreed to carry out its terms within a year and a half after it had been approved.<sup>146</sup> In Mexico his army was to be inspected by the viceroy in order that the king might know that he had fulfilled his obligations. On the whole he was to remain under the viceroy's supervision while in New Spain and Nueva Galicia, but as soon as New Mexico was reached he was to be wholly independent. He would then be directly responsible to the Council of the Indies. Civil cases involving one hundred pesos or more could be appealed to Spain, and the same was true of criminal cases where the sentence was death, or the permanent injury or removal of a limb. However the appeal might be made to the nearby audiencia of Nueva Galicia. Aside from these points Ponce was the highest source of justice within New Mexico.<sup>147</sup>

Numerous aids and incentives were granted Ponce. He was made governor and captain-general with a salary of twelve thousand ducats,<sup>148</sup> twice the amount allowed Oñate. He could engrave stamps and dies with the royal arms to mark the precious metals. He could establish royal treasuries, name the officials thereof, and after these had become explorers and settlers, divide the Indians among them, even though there might be prohibitions against holding these two privileges at the same time.<sup>149</sup> Royal

145. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 309.

146. *Ibid.*

147. *Ibid.*, 317. A special cédula was issued concerning Ponce's independence of the officials in America, in which the viceroys and audiencias and other officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia were warned of this fact. Royal cédula, October 26, 1596, A. G. I., 189-1-2.

148. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 313; special cédulas to this effect were issued, but the king was to be under no obligation to pay that salary if there was no money in New Mexico. *Ibid.*, 325; 339-341.

149. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 313; for special cédulas, see *ibid.*, 339.

funds might be used in suppressing rebellion, provided a majority of the royal officials approved.<sup>150</sup> He was privileged to make ordinances for the regulation of mines and the government, though royal sanction must be secured within three years. He could divide the province into districts and appoint officials, but royal approval must eventually be had. He might also name a cosmographer who was to make scientific descriptions of the province and to select suitable sites for the establishment of towns.<sup>151</sup> Three cities were to be founded within six years, and in each Ponce agreed to construct a fort.<sup>152</sup> After their completion he was to have command of them for the remainder of his lifetime with an annual salary of one hundred thousand *maravedis* for each one.<sup>153</sup> He would also build vessels to examine the rivers and parts of the North and South Seas in case his discovery should lead him to either of these bodies of water.<sup>154</sup>

Concerning war materials more was given Ponce than his competitor. His allowance consisted of four pieces of artillery, forty quintals of powder, a hundred and thirty of lead,<sup>155</sup> and sixty quintals of fuse, for which he had petitioned the crown. If more powder should be needed this might be purchased in Mexico at the same rate as the crown had to pay.<sup>156</sup>

Ponce de León was given some other powers similar to those granted Oñate, namely: the right to arrest anyone who might have entered New Mexico without authority;<sup>157</sup> to take along, as interpreter, an Indian woman who had come from that province;<sup>158</sup> and to give all the Indians of

150. This was a special concession. Royal cédula, October 12, 1596, in *ibid.*, 337.

151. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 318-319; for special cédulas, see *ibid.*, 329; 373; 381.

152. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 317.

153. The *maravedis* is an old Spanish coin worth about one sixth of a cent.

154. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 311.

155. *Ibid.*, 315.

156. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 329.

157. This refers to Bonilla and Humafia who made an unauthorized expedition to New Mexico in 1598.

158. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 315; royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 331-333.

New Mexico in encomienda among the soldiers and settlers of the first three generations. However the ports and capital cities must be reserved for the crown. Ponce was especially warned that all the royal regulations designed to protect the natives must be observed. One point was singled out for emphasis and provided that the aborigines should be taxed according to the New Laws of 1542.<sup>159</sup> If more than the proper amount of tribute should be exacted by an encomendero he was to be deprived of his encomienda and permanently disqualified from holding any such privilege again. Ponce was also permitted to give pasture and farm land to the settlers, but in order to acquire permanent title to such land the prospective owner had to "homestead" for five years. No taxes of any kind were to be levied on those who had erected sugar mills and used slaves to operate them, nor could a tax be put on the slaves or the equipment used.<sup>160</sup>

A number of important exemptions were granted to Don Pedro Ponce. The customary royal fifth, always imposed on the precious metals, pearls and valuable stones, was reduced to a tenth during the first twenty years of the conquest.<sup>161</sup> The much hated *alcabala*, or excise tax, universally despised in the Spanish-American colonies,<sup>162</sup> was withheld for twenty years. Both of these privileges were to date from the time when the first town should be founded. Mention should also be made of the *almojarifazgo*, an import and export duty on all commerce, from which the colonists of New Mexico were freed for a decade.<sup>163</sup>

Some additional articles of Ponce's contract remain to be noticed. All the officials in the army of soldiers and colonists were to be appointed by him, and the king's agents in America were specially instructed to give all possible aid.

159. Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, in *ibid.*, 828; for a summary of the New Laws, see Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 62-64.

160. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 815-819; for special cédulas, see *ibid.*, 828; 835.

161. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 815; for special cédula, *ibid.*, 838.

162. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 181-182.

163. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 815-817.

Even if there were men in the army who had committed crimes they were not to be detained unless some one insisted on prosecuting them. As a special favor Ponce was permitted to take fifty negro slaves to the Indies free of duty, both in Spain and in New Spain. But thereupon the order was to be destroyed lest it be used again.<sup>164</sup> So carefully was the commercial monopoly guarded.<sup>165</sup>

Then too Ponce was allowed to select his heir for the continuance of the conquest should he himself die before its completion.<sup>166</sup> Oñate, it will be recalled, was accorded the same privilege, subject to the approval of the viceroy of New Spain.

Ponce had petitioned the king for permission to leave the province of New Mexico at the end of six years after it had been explored and settled. This was granted, as was his request to leave a qualified substitute in his place.<sup>167</sup> Oñate's petition for the same privileges had been refused, but there is this point to be noted. Ponce asked to leave after having successfully completed his task, whereas Oñate desired freedom to go at any time wherever he pleased.

The privilege of becoming *hidalgo* was granted to Ponce's settlers, but the honor did not hold should they abandon the province.<sup>168</sup> This restriction was evidently designed to promote the growth of New Mexico as a Spanish province. Oñate's settlers had to remain only five years to win the coveted glory. Titles of *towns* and *cities* could be given by Ponce as a further inducement for going to New Mexico.<sup>169</sup> Political and military "plums" were to be distributed among the sons and grandsons of the original settlers, and they could not be deprived of their offices.<sup>170</sup>

164. *Ibid.*, 319-321; for special *cédulas*, *ibid.*, 381; 389.

165. For an account of the mercantile system, see Haring, C. H. *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies*, chs. I and VI.

166. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 321.

167. *Ibid.*, 321; 343.

168. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 319; for special *cédula*, see *ibid.*, 343.

169. Given in two *cédulas* issued October 19, 1596. *ibid.*, 335-337.

170. *Cédula* of October 19, in *ibid.*, 387.

Regarding the missionaries who were to accompany the expedition and undertake the conversion of the land, Ponce had agreed to pay all their expenses. Jesuits had been procured for this purpose, and the contract so provided.<sup>171</sup> But for some reason which does not appear a different arrangement had been made by October 28, 1596, Franciscans having been substituted for the Jesuits. On the date mentioned the king requested the Father Provincial of the Franciscan Order of New Spain to give Ponce six religious to engage in ministering unto the Indians of New Mexico.<sup>172</sup> This remained the final disposition.

*Ponce's Secure Position, 1596.* It is thus evident that in September 1596, when Ponce's contract was approved by the king, his ascendancy was complete. The Council of the Indies supported him. Philip II had accepted the recommendations of his advisers seemingly without reserve. The contract read that "it is my royal and determined will that you and no other person whosoever shall undertake the said pacification, settlement, and exploration, or if it has been commenced by another that you shall continue and finish it."<sup>173</sup> In accord with this policy so forcefully expressed the king instructed the Count of Monterey of the royal will in this matter and of the necessity of detaining Don Juan de Oñate wherever he might be.<sup>174</sup> Truly there seemed to be no hope for him.

*Reversal of Fortune, 1597.* Nothing is known of what actually transpired between the first part of November, 1596, and the early part of February, 1597. It seems that Ponce passed through a critical illness,<sup>175</sup> and that his fortunes, on the whole, suffered a serious check. This change is seen in a letter of the Council to the king.<sup>176</sup> It reveals the fact that Ponce, previous to that date, had petitioned the

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171. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 307.
172. Cédula of October 26, 1596, in *ibid.*, 343.
173. Ponce's contract, in *ibid.*, 321.
174. Cédula of October 19, 1596, in *ibid.*, 335.
175. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 347.
176. The Council to the king, February 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.

king for the right to place a mortgage on his estate in order to complete his preparations for the expedition to New Mexico. If this was not favored he desired the king to loan him a certain sum which would enable him to carry on what he had begun. It further shows that the Council was still acting as spokesman for Ponce, urging that he should go very soon. When the Council wrote this report it had just received information from the viceroy of New Spain to the effect that Oñate had been advised of the cédula of May 8, 1596, stopping the expedition. With his army halted the opportunity for Ponce was as good as ever, and he was anxious to conclude the necessary arrangements. But the king again acted with deliberation. He asked to see the papers which Monterey had sent dealing with these matters.<sup>177</sup>

In spite of the king's lack of warmth for Ponce's cause the Council reiterated its preference for him.<sup>178</sup> In a summary of the whole situation it pointed out that in December, 1595, Monterey had been dissatisfied with both Oñate and his contract. Now all this was changed. His recent letters had urged that Oñate be retained as leader of the expedition.<sup>179</sup> This change of heart displeased the Council. Ponce was ready to leave on eight days' notice. He had a brother in Seville preparing the ships, arms and provisions necessary. If a change should be made at that stage of affairs his reputation would suffer greatly. Such a rebuff would be an extremely poor reward for a man who had volunteered to serve his majesty with much spirit and generosity. Furthermore the Council charged that the doubt cast on Ponce's cause was the work of a brother-in-law of Oñate, an *oidor* of the audiencia of Mexico. His stand was that a captain coming from Spain would be unable to cope with conditions in the New World. But this was of minor

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177. Royal decree in report of the Council of February 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 845.

178. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 847.

179. The reference is to Monterey's letter of November 15, 1596. *ibid.*, 877.

importance, maintained the Council, and it recommended that Ponce himself should bear the news of the king's decision to the Indies.<sup>180</sup>

*King Philip Suspends Ponce.* On this occasion King Philip did not accept the advice of his royal Council. He felt that since Ponce was in poor health and lacked the necessary funds no immediate decision should be made. The Council was instructed to keep him in suspense for the time being, meanwhile making secret inquiry of the viceroy as to whether Oñate still had everything in readiness to continue the expedition. If so, he should be authorized to proceed to New Mexico, but if his force had fallen to pieces, the king was to be promptly informed.<sup>181</sup> The Council, however, was in no mood to leave matters in such an uncertain muddle. Since Ponce was continuing his preparations at much expense it seemed proper that he be undeceived at once or that he be informed that no decision could be made for a year and a half.<sup>182</sup> To this the king laconically replied that he should be informed that nothing could be determined for a year.<sup>183</sup>

Shortly after these events had occurred the king's will was embodied in a formal cédula to the Count of Monterey. This was merely a repetition of his orders to the Council that Oñate should be permitted to conquer New Mexico if he was prepared to do so.<sup>184</sup> With this sudden termination Ponce's good fortune came to an abrupt end. As far as the expedition to New Mexico is concerned he is not heard of again. In fact nothing more is known of Don Pedro Ponce de León.

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180. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 347.

181. Royal decree in report of the Council of February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.

182. The Council to the king, March 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.

183. Royal decree in report of the Council of March 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.

184. Royal cédula, April 2, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.

## Chapter IV.

## OÑATE IN THE WILDERNESS

*Preparing the Expedition.* The contract which the viceroy made with Oñate was formally approved September 21, 1595, as we have seen,<sup>185</sup> and preparations for the great enterprise were soon under way. It was undertaken in feudal style. Important positions were given to wealthy friends and relatives. These did homage and swore fealty to Oñate and raised companies at their own expense.<sup>186</sup> Oñate's nephew Juan de Zaldívar was at once named *maestre de campo*; another nephew Vicente de Zaldívar became *sargento mayor*; the wealthy Juan Guerra de Resa was made lieutenant captain-general. Oñate's brothers Cristóbal and Luís Nuñez Pérez were made his personal representatives in Mexico.<sup>187</sup>

The preparations were carried forward enthusiasti-ally for a time. If we believe the picture given by Villagrá, the soldier-poet, a spirit of friendly helpfulness prevailed among the soldiers. Not even the bees, under the stimulus of the April sun, could make honey with greater haste than the future conquerors of New Mexico prepared themselves for their work. Proclamations were made in the most frequented streets, picturing the many privileges given to those who would serve in the conquest. Banners were hoisted, trumpets sounded, fifes played and drums beat. Mingled with these martial notes was the clamor of the soldiers who were burning with eagerness to set off for the land of promise, the "otro Mexico," immediately.<sup>188</sup>

185. See above, 18.

186. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 170; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 117.

187. They were given this power on October 19, 1595, in Zacatecas. *Aceptación de las capitulaciones*, December 15, 1595. A. G. I., 58-8-12. Villagrá mentions only Cristóbal. *Historia*, I, 29.

188. *Ibid.* I, 30.

The scenes enacted by Oñate and his followers resembled those which had occurred when Coronado organized his army in 1540, to explore the Northern Mystery. In the city of Mexico where only one recruiting squad was permitted, Vicente de Zaldívar was put in charge with authority to enlist both foot and horse. For this privilege his friends were so happy that they carried him to the palace to kiss the Count's hands. Proceeding to the grand plaza a salute of artillery was fired to indicate that enlistment was under way.<sup>189</sup>

*Opposition from Oñate's Foes.* The start so brilliantly begun soon struck obstacles. Monterey the new viceroy entered upon his duties in Mexico in November, 1595,<sup>190</sup> and Oñate's contract was submitted to him for his approval.<sup>191</sup> Office seekers flocked to his court, and among them were enemies of Oñate.<sup>192</sup> These malcontents were probably the main element in prejudicing the viceroy against the enterprise.

*Discouragement of the Soldiers.* Before the two viceroys came to an agreement at Oculma in regard to Oñate's contract the uncertainty and delay caused by the change in government nearly ruined the army which had commenced to assemble. "It faded and dried up like an unwatered flower," said the poet. Gossip and slander had been so widely circulated that the soldiers lost faith in their leader and shamelessly believed the charges against him.<sup>193</sup> In an appeal to the king Oñate himself painted the difficulties under which he was working during the latter part of 1595. He complained that the delay in forwarding his warrants had occasioned enormous damage; that some of the soldiers had lost interest and were completely discouraged; and that the outlook was growing more dubious. It might not be pos-

189. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

190. *Ibid.*; Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 766.

191. See chapter II.

192. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 27; 30; Bancroft follows Villagrá, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 118.

193. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 31.

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sible to carry out the expedition before the rainy season commenced. That possibility would involve great expense, and be extremely disheartening to the entire army.<sup>194</sup>

By tactful management he succeeded, together with his lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa, in preventing the break-up of the expedition, and at the conference of Monterey and Velasco at Oculma he was permitted to go on with the enterprise.<sup>195</sup>

The news of that decision was sent to the camp by letter and caused an outburst of joy.<sup>196</sup> Recruiting again went forward with enthusiasm and the expedition was nearing completion in January, 1596, according to Oñate's claims.<sup>197</sup> Such a statement is probably an exaggeration, but it indicates that all was progressing as rapidly as could be expected.<sup>198</sup>

At last nothing was lacking except the final warrants,<sup>199</sup> but trouble was brewing. During the Christmas season of 1595, Monterey carefully scrutinized Oñate's capitulation<sup>200</sup> and concluded to limit his privileges in some important particulars. As already intimated it is possible that this decision was due to suspicions aroused by discontented fortune seekers disgusted at Oñate's success.

When the news of this additional misfortune reached the army it was thrown into utmost confusion. The angry soldiers turned on their leader again. It was clear to them that the privileges which had been so tantalisingly displayed at the time of enlistment had

194. *Carta de Don Juan de Oñate á S. M.*, December 16, 1595, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

195. See chapter II.

196. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 33.

197. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596]; order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Traslado de la visita que por comision del señor virrey tomó Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos á Don Juan de Oñate, de la gente, armas y municiones que llevó para la conquista del Nuevo Mexico*, A. G. I., 58-8-14. Hereafter cited as *Ulloa visita*. See also Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 369.

198. The Vizcaino expedition to the Californias was being organized at this same time, and though Monterey had objections to it and was dubious of the outcome, he did not hinder its progress. Chapman, C. E. *History of California*, 124-126.

199. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596]; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 33.

200. See chapter II.

been mere mockery. Charges of deception and even of treachery were leveled at him, and it was with much difficulty that their suspicions were allayed and order restored anew. The assistance of the faithful Juan Guerra seems to have been important in bringing this about.<sup>201</sup>

*Success in Enlisting Men.* Oñate's representatives did not hesitate in coming to a decision in regard to the viceroy's limitations. These they accepted,<sup>202</sup> and then the governor was immediately given complete and final authority to go on with the enterprise.<sup>203</sup> Additional facilities were also given for enlisting soldiers and Monterey thus felt that the journey to New Mexico could be made that season.<sup>204</sup>

In spite of the many reverses which had served to discredit the expedition the captains seemed to meet with success in securing men. The attitude of the viceroy had now changed and he was represented as friendly to the project. This aided in stimulating enlistment and many married men volunteered.<sup>205</sup> In fact matters progressed so fast that on April 17, Monterey reported that almost all of the soldiers recruited in Mexico were already on the way to Zacatecas. Haste was necessary if the journey was to take place that year, as the viceroy realized, and he was hurrying along those who had not then departed.<sup>206</sup>

*Arranging the Visita.* At the same time Monterey was making other plans in order that Oñate might not leave Zacatecas for New Mexico with a smaller number of men and less supplies than he had agreed to bring. In order to safeguard the welfare of the soldiers and settlers in the army and to protect the Indians and possessions of the mining settlements in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya,

201. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 34-85.

202. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596].

203. *Aceptación del consentimiento que se hizo por Don Juan de Oñate á la moderación de las capitulaciones*, January 18, 1596. A. G. I., 58-8-15.

204. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, February 28, 1596.

205. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

206. *Monterey á S. M.*, April 17, 1596. A. G. I., 58-8-12.

which were situated along the line of march, he determined to send a reliable officer to review the army. If we may believe his own words he appears to have been somewhat perturbed about the performance of this duty, because much suffering had already been caused Oñate and this inspection would probably give additional reason for complaint.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless he proposed in an *acuerdo de hacienda*, held on May 18, 1596, that the inspection should be held, and the plan was approved.<sup>208</sup>

With these necessary arrangements completed the Count nominated the captain of the viceregal guard, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, as *juez visitador y teniente de capitan-general* for the New Mexico expedition. His instructions required him to overtake the colonists and accompany them from Zacatecas to Santa Bárbara in order to become thoroughly familiar with conditions in the army. The *visita* was not necessarily to be held at Santa Bárbara, but near there.<sup>209</sup> Oñate's contract had stipulated that the army should be assembled at that place, the last settlement in the conquered territory, and there he should give proof of having fulfilled his obligations.<sup>210</sup> If the inspection proved that the requirements of the contract had been fulfilled he was to be permitted to go on, otherwise he should be detained.<sup>211</sup>

One other commission was given Don Lope de Ulloa. Recruiting was dragging on more slowly than had been anticipated. Some of the soldiers and colonists were still in Mexico on June 6, 1596, in spite of efforts to hurry them on toward Oñate's rendezvous. Small groups were departing

207. *Monterey a S. M.*, April 17, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

208. Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

209. *Ibid.*; see also "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 35.

210. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 231.

211. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 377. Ulloa was also given several assistants. Antonio de Negrete, who had served in the royal council of Castile, was made *secretario*; Francisco de Esquivel, who had seen military service in Flanders and Portugal, was named *comisario*; and Jaime Fernández went as *alguacil*. See order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

for Zacatecas at irregular intervals, and it was rumored that they were disturbing the inhabitants and causing more or less property damage.<sup>212</sup> These complaints reached the viceroy in the first part of June. To punish such offences and eliminate future occurrences Monterey gave Ulloa full power to deal with any trouble that might arise. At the same time he was to observe friendly relations with Oñate. The latter was to remain free to govern his people and to enforce military discipline. Ulloa should only interfere to protect the settlements or to punish those guilty of crimes. These special cases were left entirely to his discretion. As soon as the inspection had been held Oñate should be compelled, if it was successful, to continue the journey in order that he might enter New Mexico in August, 1596.<sup>213</sup> Monterey did not want the army to linger and excite the newly pacified areas of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. These orders were fulfilled at once. On June 11, the various officers left Mexico to assume their duties.<sup>214</sup>

On their journey northward Ulloa and his company carried letters from Monterey to Oñate, wherein he wished him the good fortune which so illustrious an individual and his distinguished relatives deserved, and bade him God-speed in the conquest. He did not desire that Oñate should be worried about the inspection which Ulloa was to make, and attempted to overcome objections by saying that it was ordered as a formality rather than because of any suspicions that the contract had not been fulfilled. These glad tidings were received with joy by the soldiers, for it seemed to augur a speedy march, and they celebrated with tournaments and merrymaking.<sup>215</sup>

*Appraising the Supplies.* Before the inspection could take place certain preparations had to be made to enable

212. Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

213. Order of Monterey, June 10, 1596, in *ibid.*

214. Report of Antonio de Negrete, June 11, 1596, *ibid.*

215. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 85.

Ulloa to hold it. Oñate, for example, had bound himself to take along five hundred pesos worth of medicine. Many other articles in the contract were given in the same manner.<sup>216</sup> In order to determine upon a scale of prices for the *visita* Monterey ordered that two appraisers should be chosen, one by the king and the other by Oñate, to make such an adjustment. This was done in Mexico City. Gordian Casasano, *contador* of the royal *alcabala* of New Spain, and Baltasar Rodríguez were chosen for this purpose by the respective groups.<sup>217</sup> They were to appraise the horseshoe iron, nails, footgear, medicine, iron tools, iron for making tools, paper, frieze and sackcloth, and things for bartering and for making gifts to the Indians, according to the prices prevailing in Zacatecas. Flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef, on the contrary, were to be regulated by the prices in the frontier towns of Guadiana (Durango), La Puana and Santa Bárbara. When the appraisers presented their report in Mexico on June 18, two of these items, the medicine and the things for the Indians, could not be definitely appraised, and they suggested that it would have to be done in Zacatecas.<sup>218</sup>

Meanwhile Ulloa and his staff proceeded to Zacatecas where he soon delegated the second of his commissions, containing certain police powers, to the commissary Francisco de Esquivel, instructing him carefully to follow the army to Santa Bárbara and to punish all disorders. To simplify this task he was ordered not to permit the soldiers to scatter about; none were allowed to wander more than half a league beyond the *camino real*. Ulloa gave him full power for enforcing these measures and appointed an *alguacil* to assist him.<sup>219</sup>

*Inspecting the Medicine.* Having relieved himself of these disciplinary functions Ulloa next turned his attention

216. Oñate's contract, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227-229.

217. Statement of Monterey, June 14, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

218. Report of Gordian Casasano and Baltasar Rodríguez, Mexico, June 18, 1596, in *ibid.*

219. Order of Don Lope de Ulloa, Zacatecas, July 19, 1596, in *ibid.*

to the inspection and ordered that the five hundred pesos of medicine which was to be valued according to the current Zacatecas price, should be appraised at once. To reach an agreement on this score he appointed as his agent Pedro de Vergara. At the same time Cristóbal de Zaldívar, Oñate's representative in the province, chose Alonso Sánchez Montemolín to cooperate with him.<sup>220</sup> They appraised the materials in question, but the total value only amounted to three hundred and six pesos, or one hundred and ninety less than was required to fulfill the contract.<sup>221</sup>

*The Order of Suspension.* The record of what happened during the next six weeks is almost a blank. We do know that the army continued marching, as it reached the Nazas river on September 9.<sup>222</sup> It is also clear that Oñate was completing his preparations for the inspection by purchasing such cattle and supplies as were still needed.<sup>223</sup> Aside from that there was probably nothing to record.

While the soldiers were thus plodding forward discouraging news from Mexico was about to overtake them. In the latter part of July<sup>224</sup> the viceroy received an order from the king, in response to his letter of December 20, 1595, suspending Oñate as leader of the expedition and prohibiting him from entering New Mexico. If the journey should already have commenced the army was to come to an immediate halt. He was to remain under that ban till the king pleased to order otherwise.<sup>225</sup> This cédula had been ordered on recommendation of the Council of the Indies which was vigorously campaigning for Don Pedro Ponce de León in order that he might become the conqueror of New Mexico.<sup>226</sup>

220. Order of Ulloa, Zacatecas, July 20, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

221. Report of Pedro de Vergara and Alonso Sánchez Montemolín, Zacatecas, July 24, 1596, in *ibid.*

222. Notification to Oñate, Rio de las Nazas, September 9, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 851.

223. On August 24, 1596, Oñate was at Santa Catalina, three leagues from Aviño, where he contracted for a quantity of wheat. See *Ulloa visita*.

224. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 877.

225. Royal cédula, May 8, 1596, in *ibid.*, Villagrá, *Historia*, I. 36.

226. See above, 40.

When Monterey received the cédula he forwarded it to Ulloa, and accompanied it by an order of his own of August 12, 1596.<sup>227</sup> In rigorous terms he added warning and severe penalties to the king's decree should it not be obeyed. Oñate was prohibited from going beyond the place where the cédula should be received, though Ulloa might allow him to go a few leagues, if he found it necessary to do so, to better hold the people. Any such arrangement had to be made in writing. Failure to comply with the king's cédula, was the dire threat, would mean the loss of all the privileges granted in the contract.

*Oñate Dissimulates.* The bitter news contained in these messages did not reach Oñate till September 9, 1596, while the army was camped at the Rio de las Nazas in Nueva Vizcaya.<sup>228</sup> On that day there came hurrying to the camp a messenger asking *albricias*<sup>229</sup> for the dispatch which he brought from the viceroy. Believing that it contained orders for the continuation of the journey he proclaimed good news, saying that the entire camp was finally ordered to enter New Mexico. But it was all a tragic mistake. When the seal was broken, and Oñate took the precaution to do this behind closed doors, it was found to be the royal order delaying the whole affair.<sup>230</sup> Oñate however did not falter, but remained true to his king as on former occasions. He respectfully kissed the unwelcome letter and reverently placed it upon his head in token of obedience.<sup>231</sup>

What was now to be done? If the army should learn the true nature of the message it would be demoralized. All were anxiously waiting to hear the news and Oñate soon satisfied their curiosity. Putting on a bold front he

227. Order of Monterey, August 12, 1596, in Villagrá *Historia*, I, 36-38; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 191-192.

228. Notification to Oñate, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 351; Oñate to Monterey, September 18, 1596, in *ibid.*, 353.

229. Reward for some good news.

230. Villagrá *Historia*, I, 36; Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, -596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 371.

231. Notification to Oñate, in *ibid.*, 351; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 39.



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too proclaimed good news; the *entrada* would be made without delay. The overjoyed soldiers gave vent to their feelings by displaying their skill on horseback. A race was first run, and then a tilting match was staged, led by the two best men in the camp, the Zaldívar brothers, Juan and Vicente. Oñate also celebrated by riding forth to witness the spectacle, and when he dismounted his gayly bedecked steed on returning to camp he gave the messenger the reward expected for the good news he had borne.<sup>282</sup>

This additional discouragement was hard to bear. Oñate had already suffered extraordinary expenses due to the earlier delays. His army had now been assembled practically a year and the situation was more dubious than ever before. It is true that there was still a ray of hope on the horizon. Further orders were expected from Spain by the fleet. It would come, at the very latest, in October.<sup>283</sup> Hope was now pinned on the possibility that the king might countermand the decree of suspension.<sup>284</sup> In the meantime he could not prevent the desertion of large numbers of the soldiers if they should learn the truth. Monterey took what precautions he could in order to help him in this respect, for there were rumors afloat in the city of Mexico that Don Pedro Ponce was coming to displace Oñate. This story had been learned in private letters from Madrid. To discredit them Monterey said as much as he dared in public to counteract such hearsay, and Ulloa dissimulated in the same manner in Oñate's army, where he was waiting to hold the inspection. If the fleet should arrive at the accustomed time, the expedition would thus be found intact.<sup>285</sup>

*Juan Guerra Promises Aid.* While Oñate was awaiting the receipt of such news, however, his supplies must deteriorate and losses of horses and cattle would be inevitable. Up till this time he had already expended more than one hundred thousand Castilian ducats on the expedition.

282. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 39-40.

283. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 379.

284. Oñate to Monterey, September 18, 1596, in *ibid.*, 358.

285. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 379.

His captains and soldiers had spent more than twice that amount. They had sold their lands and would be practically destitute on the break-up of the army. This information was included in a report made by Ulloa's secretary, Antonio Negrete.<sup>286</sup> It is perhaps a proper antidote to Villagrá's estimate of half a million *ducados largos* which Oñate was said to have expended on the enterprise. It is at any rate clear that Oñate was again in straightened circumstances. In his difficulty he turned to his friend and relative Juan Guerra de Resa, the lieutenant captain-general of the expedition, and revealed the actual condition of affairs to him. Juan Guerra had long ere this won distinction because of the great work and large sums of money he had spent in the service of the king, and he did not fail his friend now. "Like the illustrious Jacob, who, charmed by the beautiful Rachel wished to live with Laban again," so did Guerra once more desire to serve the king, and without considering the services he had already performed, pledged Oñate one hundred thousand pesos annually from the income of his estates. He accepted joyfully.<sup>287</sup>

When the above events had transpired the expedition halted at the mines of Casco by Ulloa's order. The place proved an unfortunate stopping place, according to the poet, as it was barren of provisions, grazing land and water.<sup>288</sup> These mines were reached November 1, 1596.<sup>289</sup>

*Failure of the Fleet.* The slender hopes which Don Juan had nourished regarding the arrival of additional news from the king that fall were shortly dashed to the ground. On October 22, Monterey dispatched a message,

286. Notification to Oñate, September 9, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 351; Oñate also pictures the poverty of the soldiers and colonists who had staked their all on the successful outcome of the expedition. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in *ibid.*, 359.

287. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 39-40.

288. *Ibid.*

289. "Discurso de las jornadas que hizo el Campo de su Magestad desde la Nueva España á la provincia de la Nueva Mexico. Año de 1596, Ytinerario de las minas del Caxco, . . ." in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 228-276. Hereafter cited as "Ytinerario."

notifying him that the ships had not left that year, and therefore no news could be expected till spring.<sup>240</sup> The information was received on November 22, while the army was still at Casco. In view of this condition of affairs Oñate was again warned that the ban of suspension was still in effect. It was a desperate situation which he was facing, but no sign of disobedience was shown.<sup>241</sup> Villagrá tells how the viceroy tried to assuage Oñate's ruffled feelings by expressing the utmost confidence in him, but the poet scoffed at such condolatory expressions.<sup>242</sup>

*Oñate Protests.* While the army was worrying away the weary days at the mines of Casco renewed efforts were made by the leaders in this drama to influence the viceroy and the king for a favorable decision. Oñate sent a pains-taking and exhaustive report to Monterey.<sup>243</sup> Freely now did he express his emotions. He was quite beside himself with grief over the new misfortune and complained that the extreme penalties provided in the viceroy's order accompanying the royal cédula of suspension were unnecessary for a true and faithful vassal of the king. He protested that he had no intention to do otherwise than to obey, even though it might mean an extraordinary reversal of fortune for him, loss of all the money and labor expended, and irretrievable diminution of reputation and prestige. He promised obedience both in form and spirit, and volunteered to make every effort to hold the expedition together until his majesty ordered differently.

Facing the facts squarely Oñate informed Monterey that only a handful of soldiers or colonists would remain in the army should it be learned that a new leader was ex-

240. Order of Monterey, October 22, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*; "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 192; due to the wars in Europe only eleven fleets came to Vera Cruz between 1580 and 1600. Bourne, *E. G. Spain in America*, 285-286.

241. Notification to Oñate, November 22, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

242. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 41.

243. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 352-367.

pected. There were obvious reasons for this. The army was a feudal organization. Should Oñate and his chief officers go the key stone would fall from the arch. The soldiers would follow their old leaders whom they admired. Moreover Oñate had followed the customary methods of the frontier in organizing his army. He was accustomed to Indian warfare and had acted from experience. European methods of fighting would be futile against the natives. Consequently any one coming from Spain must necessarily be at a great disadvantage in managing an army organized to conquer a new province like the "otro Mexico."

Oñate thus argued that the threatening change of leadership would bring about the destruction of the expedition. Some had already deserted,<sup>244</sup> and others were being retained by rather dubious means. These facts were soon seen by Ulloa, who was then with the expedition. He gave Oñate all the assistance at his command in preserving the intactness of the force. Don Juan appreciated this kindness. He was glad that all straggling bands of soldiers had been compelled to unite with the army. The evil these isolated groups had inflicted on the countryside was as bad for Oñate as for anyone else. The rumors of their depredations were giving the expedition a black eye and furnishing its enemies an opportunity to discredit its leader before the king.<sup>245</sup>

*Oñate Requests an Inspection.* While thus attempting to make secure his position as leader of the expedition Oñate was also seeking to safeguard his rights by giving proof of having fulfilled the contract. On November 1, a large part of the army reached Casco.<sup>246</sup> Other parts were at Santa Bárbara and La Puana. Normally the inspection

244. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 369.

245. Oñate to Monterey, September 18, 1596, in *ibid.*, 859.

246. See above, 62.

would have been held without delay, but would it be done now that the enterprise was under suspension? It was a matter of importance for Oñate. Further delay might mean the disintegration of the expedition and he could be charged with failure to carry out his obligations. Responsibility for defeat would therefore be his own. But he justly insisted that the inspection was also necessary to fulfill the king's duty toward him, and so he earnestly beseeched Monterey to order Ulloa to carry it out. He wanted to demonstrate that the contract had been liberally furnished, and that poverty, which had been ascribed to him in public, was unfounded. "Upon your lordship's doing me this favor depends all my reputation, honor and credit." It would be of material help in preventing desertion among the soldiers since they would feel that preparations for departure were steadily progressing.

Moreover though the status of his future part in the enterprise was so doubtful he requested permission for the entire camp to move forward to Santa Bárbara, the last settlement on the frontier. The valley in which it lay was a fertile region where the expense of supporting the army would not be so great. There the inspection could conveniently be held and the army could settle down to await the king's pleasure at the minimum cost. Oñate had no ulterior motives in mind when asking for these favors. He gave his word of honor not to advance a step beyond Santa Bárbara without express order from the viceroy. If Don Pedro Ponce or some one else should be given the leadership of the expedition he promised to make no disturbance whatever.<sup>247</sup>

*Santiago del Riego's Appeal.* Doctor Santiago de Riego, an *oidor* of the audiencia gave his support in this cause, and sent an impassioned appeal to the king in favor of Oñate. He maintained that expeditions coming from Spain were never successful, because those who enlisted in

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247. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 865-867.

Europe were usually poor people attracted by false promises of mountains of gold. When it was learned how thoroughly the truth had been concealed from them and how greatly they had been deceived they would cry out to God in their misfortune, and worst of all, return home—broken. After making a brief summary of the things required for such an expedition as Oñate's, he exclaimed:<sup>248</sup>

What man, indeed, in these kingdoms will wish, or be able, to help the people procure these things? What length of time will he need to secure it all? How will he succeed in providing it with four or five thousand head of cattle which must be taken ahead for food unless he wishes to enter by robbing the Indians in their poverty? How will he provide four or five thousand quintals of biscuit which will be needed for the road and the interval until they begin to cultivate and work the land? How will he provide fifty or more carts with the awnings which will be needed for the trip, and other things that are necessary for such a long journey, and at the least more than twelve hundred oxen which will be needed to draw them?

Santiago del Riego asserted that this mass of supplies, plus an infinite number of other things that would be needed, could not be secured for one hundred thousand ducats by any one bringing an expedition from Spain. Experience had proven moreover that armies organized in the Indies usually achieved brilliant success, and he recalled the work of Cortés and Pizarro as proof of his contention. Furthermore he argued:

With what justice can the expedition be taken away from the one who made the contract and agreement with two viceroys who represented the person of your Majesty? What he spent in virtue of this agreement, which must be a very large sum, he must lose, and the viceroys, who make the contract in the name of your Majesty, must cheat their liegemen, which does not seem to be just. . .

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248. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 371. Riego mentioned several men who had come with expeditions from Spain and had failed. He named Serpa, in New Andalucia; Juan Ponce in Florida; Luis de Carbajal in New León; and others whose identity has been lost.

*Monterey Consults the Audiencia.* The pressure which Oñate and his friends thus brought to bear on the viceroy had the desired effect. His attitude changed, but he was nevertheless perplexed as to what course of action to pursue toward him when the fleet failed to come. What should he do if some of Oñate's men strayed off or broke away and left for New Mexico contrary to the royal orders? Finally he determined to bring the whole affair to the attention of the audiencia in order to learn its opinion. It felt however that nothing should be done until the king's will was known, and that in the meantime Oñate should remain at the head of the army. It was still possible that ships would soon come bringing definite orders from Spain. Till then the expedition ought to be preserved. But Monterey was not satisfied with the Council's recommendation. He continued to urge upon the king the desirability and necessity of continuing the enterprise as then constituted, but at the same time he refused to assume the responsibility of sending the army on to New Mexico, and the audiencia likewise declined to take upon itself any part of the viceroy's burden.<sup>249</sup>

*Reasons for Favoring Oñate.* In order to convince the king and the Council of the Indies of the very good reasons why Oñate should be allowed to carry out the conquest the viceroy sent them a detailed list of notes, including his own opinion, that of the audiencia and others, in regard to the matter.<sup>250</sup> These documents are of interest and importance. They indicate why the king at last approved Oñate for this enterprise when Ponce's cause began to weaken.

First of all, Oñate's contract had been legally made. If the project should be committed to another he would have a claim, which could not be denied, to collect interest from the crown on the expenses incurred.

249. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 379; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 391.

250. Reasons why Oñate should go to New Mexico, November 15, 1596, in *ibid.*, 383-389; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 389-395.

Many had sold or mortgaged their estates and brought their families with them on the expedition. If not permitted to go their plight would be serious, all of which ought to be taken into consideration.

If the soldiers were disbanded they would scatter all over the country, and robberies and outrages might be perpetrated on the inhabitants. Some might join the Indians and excite them to adopt their old habits as bandits and thieves, thereby breaking the peace which had recently been established.<sup>251</sup>

There was danger that some of the soldiers might unite and go to New Mexico without authority. They would probably mistreat the Indians and discredit the Spaniards and their religion. In that case future attempts to pacify the country would be extremely difficult.

The annoying disturbances that New Spain and Nueva Galicia had experienced while the expedition was being organized would have to be endured again, should Oñate's following be dispersed.

Oñate's expedition had been highly esteemed among the people. If now defeated it would be virtually impossible to find any one in the Indies willing to organize such an expedition, and no one would enlist.

Should another army be equipped long delays would occur. As the chief purpose of the conquest was the conversion of the natives, for which Oñate was well prepared, that mission must necessarily be jeopardized.

There was very serious doubt as to whether any one coming from Spain and without property in the New World, could collect, by money alone, the people and supplies necessary.

Moreover at the head of the expedition should be a man accustomed to deal with the Indians. Experience had demonstrated that a person coming from Spain did not pos-

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251. The reference is probably to the peace established along the frontier by Velasco in 1591. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II 763-764.

sess that quality in a high degree, and was accordingly an important reason for retaining Oñate.<sup>252</sup>

*The Delay of the Inspection.* Meanwhile the army was still stationed at the Casco mines where the goddess of good fortune seemed unable to find it. The inspection which Ulloa had been delegated to perform was still awaited. The viceroy stated it had been postponed because Oñate did not lead the expedition to the last settlement, and that he did not arrive there in time to make the entrance, as had been ordered. But this was clearly impossible as the cédula of suspension had prohibited him from taking another step unless by Ulloa's written order. The real reason is probably to be sought elsewhere. Perhaps Ulloa had been ordered not to hold the inspection if he believed that Oñate could pass it satisfactorily, as he would then be able to charge interest on his expenditures. This idea is ascribed to the audiencia and may be true. At the same time, so runs this story, should Oñate threaten to hold the inspection without Ulloa's presence, then it should be done by the latter in order to avoid any opportunity for fraud, "and in order that it should not appear as though the truth were not being sought." Furthermore both Monterey and the audiencia were agreed that Ulloa should remain with the expedition regardless of the expense involved, since the soldiers would certainly be undeceived and immediately disperse when his departure became known.<sup>253</sup>

As the weeks continued to roll by without further developments the soldiers finally despaired and the army was on the verge of disintegration. At that moment Oñate received help from an unexpected quarter. Doña Eufemia, wife of the *real alférez* Peñalosa, a woman of singular valor, beauty and intelligence, according to the poet, harangued the soldiers in the plaza. But it does not appear that

252. Reasons why Oñate should go to New Mexico, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 385-387; report of the fiscal, in *ibid.*, 393-395.

253. Monterey to the king, November 15, in *ibid.*, 388.

her appeal to the courage and honor of the colonists had more than momentary effect. They continued to leave. As Villagrá said, "Weak souls cannot desist from their intent."<sup>254</sup>

Meanwhile Oñate's trouble increased with the dissatisfaction of his men. He was growing very impatient over the endless excuses advanced by Ulloa for not making the *visita*. On November 28, 1596, he explained to Ulloa that his army was assembled at the Casco mines and at Santa Bárbara. This had entailed heavy expense. Supplies were running low, soldiers deserting, cattle, horses and mules being lost, and New Mexico was still far away. He therefore demanded an immediate inspection. Ulloa however paid little attention to this appeal. It was repeated on the same day, but he merely acknowledged acceptance of the message.<sup>255</sup> On December 2, and again on the 5, Oñate renewed his request, with the same result.<sup>256</sup>

*The Inspection Ordered.* On December 9, the inspector delayed no longer. Oñate had in the meantime threatened to hold it himself before a royal notary. Replying to his appeals Ulloa signified his readiness to carry out the *visita* even though it would be very expensive for the king as the expedition was widely scattered. However such action was not to be construed as repealing the orders prohibiting the continuation of the *entrada*.<sup>257</sup> Thereupon he ordered Oñate to take oath that all the supplies and other materials offered for inspection were his own, and that nothing had been given him simply for the purpose of making a creditable showing.<sup>258</sup>

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254. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 42.

255. Oñate to Ulloa, November 28, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 192-193.

256. Oñate to Ulloa, December 2, and 5, 1596, in *Ulloa visita*.

257. Order of Ulloa, December 9, 1596, in *ibid.*

258. Second order of Ulloa of December 9, 1596, in *ibid.* Moreover if anyone had loaned anything to Oñate he must appear within three days to make a statement thereof. Four soldiers reported that they had sold certain goods to him. They were Juan Moreno de la Rua, Captain Pablo de Aguilar, Alonso Gómez and Captain Joseph

The inspection at Casco was then begun, but dragged on for more than two months. Practically every class of goods showed a substantial surplus, and there were quantities of supplies which had not been specified in the capitulations. Of medicine there was still a deficit, though some additional things had been forwarded by Cristóbal de Zaldívar from Zacatecas. To overcome this deficiency Oñate requested that some supplies of sugar, oil, wine and other things be substituted, as these were essential for sick people. In this manner all difficulties were swept aside and the inspection at Casco was concluded toward the end of January, 1597.<sup>259</sup>

Again there came a break in Oñate's plans. On January 26, just as the inspectors were ready to go to Santa Bárbara to continue the *visita* at that place, word was received from Mexico that Ulloa had been appointed commander of the Philippine *flota* for that year. Oñate therefore immediately requested him to go to Santa Bárbara to complete the inspection, protesting that if Ulloa did not do so and if the inspection showed any deficits the responsibility would not be his. But Ulloa did not want to go to Santa Bárbara. He was willing to finish the job at Casco. To the more distant place he would send the commissary Esquivel.<sup>260</sup> The latter was accordingly provided with the necessary power for that purpose.<sup>261</sup>

Before Ulloa left for Mexico Oñate tried to secure a statement from him in regard to the elaborate equipment of the expedition when the order of suspension came. The visitor however did not feel that his instructions would permit him to do as Oñate suggested. For that reason he agreed that he might make such a record himself.<sup>262</sup>

On Februuary 1, 1597, Oñate and the inspecting officers left Casco for Santa Bárbara, twenty-eight leagues

259. See the *Ulloa visita* for January 31, 1597.

260. Oñate to Ulloa and reply, January 27, 1597, in *ibid.*

261. Order of Ulloa, January 30, 1597, in *ibid.*

262. Oñate to Ulloa and reply, January 30, 1597, in *ibid.*; cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 194-195.

distant.<sup>263</sup> They arrived there four days later, and on the 5, commenced the final part of the inspection.<sup>264</sup> By the 19, all the supplies had been listed with the exception of certain extra goods which Oñate and the soldiers had brought along. The governor claimed to have forty thousand pesos worth of negro slaves, Chichimecas, clothing, wrought silver and numerous other things. Others in the expedition had similar possessions of great value which amounted to more than one hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Oñate insisted that all this should be recorded. There was some basis for his claim. Monterey had so ordered in his instructions to Ulloa, as Esquivel realized, but he replied that the latter had not given him the necessary authority. With that the matter dropped.<sup>265</sup>

When it was seen that nothing was lacking of what was required Esquivel issued an order, already promulgated by Ulloa on January 30, prohibiting Oñate from moving the army till orders should be received from the viceroy. As on previous occasions Don Juan promised to comply.<sup>266</sup>

*The Successful Completion.* Before the end of February Esquivel finished his task. At the mines of Casco there were found to be one hundred and thirty-one soldiers, at Santa Bárabara thirty-nine and at La Puana thirty-five. The total number thus amounted to two hundred and five, or five more than Oñate was obliged to furnish. Of supplies and provisions there was a surplus of well over four thousand pesos.<sup>267</sup>

The fact that Oñate had been able to make such a fine

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263. The "Ytinerario" gives this distance as twenty-four leagues. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 229-231.

264. Report of Esquivel, February 4, in *Ulloa visita*.

265. Oñate to Esquivel and reply, February 19, 1597, in *ibid.*, cf. "Memorial Brondate.

266. Order of Esquivel, February 18; Oñate's reply, February 19, 1597, in *Ulloa visita*.

267. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 196.

showing after having experienced an almost endless series of delays was clearly a tribute to his leadership and to the support of his wealthy lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa and others. Under the circumstances it was a source of wonder to all New Spain, says the chronicler. As soon as the result was known Oñate's brothers in Mexico appealed to the viceroy for permission to proceed. But Monterey was still awaiting orders from Spain and unable to do anything in their behalf. He did write encouraging letters, pointing out that it was still possible that matters might be successfully adjusted.<sup>268</sup> In this there was small comfort indeed.

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268. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 43.

## Chapter V.

## THE FINAL INSPECTION

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*The Religious Motive of the Expedition.* On the completion of the inspection conducted by Ulloa and Esquivel early in 1597, satisfactory though it was, the soldiers in the army could do nothing save wait for good news from the king. And though a favorable decision was soon made the summer of 1597 waned before the report could be carried to the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya.

In the meantime it is necessary to follow another and very important phase of the conquest of New Mexico, the story of the missionaries. The religious object of conquering expeditions was always a leading motive in their organization.<sup>269</sup> The Spanish monarchs were not only interested in reaping a great harvest of gold and silver; they also wanted to save souls. Thus friars invariably accompanied the military tours to preach the gospel and to baptize the willing natives. Oñate's expedition was no exception. Practically every appeal which he or his friends made to the king pretended that the proposed conquest was undertaken solely for the conversion of the natives.<sup>270</sup> When Oñate received the news of the order of suspension he bemoaned the success of the devil "to present and delay that which was to have been done by this expedition for a multitude of souls — who are under his dominion but who are longing

269. See Merriman, R. B. *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, III, 621-2, 631 and 652, regarding missionary activity and the search for riches.

270. Oñate to the king, December 16, 1596 A. G. I., 58-8-15; Oñate's petition and contract, September 21, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227; order of the king, March 4, 1596, A. G. I., 58-8-12.

for the bread of the divine gospel — by bringing them to the knowledge of our sacred faith.”<sup>271</sup>

The reason for placing so much emphasis on this point was that expeditions for the discovery and conquest of new regions could only be carried out under the guise of religious conquests. The New Laws of 1542-1543, better known for the attempt to check the encomienda system, prohibited the former marauding campaigns which had wiped out thousands of Indians, thereby arousing eternal hostility in the hearts of the survivors against the Spaniards. These laws attempted to regulate some of the worst features of the Spanish colonial system, and though they were not immediately successful it was a step forward. The crown definitely laid down the policy that “our chief intention and will has always been and is the preservation and increase of the Indians, and that they be instructed and taught in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and be well treated as free persons and our vassals, as they are”.<sup>272</sup>

The Council of the Indies was charged with the duty of continually guarding the welfare of the natives. One or two missionaries must accompany every expedition to care for their spiritual welfare. No excesses would be tolerated either by governors or by private persons. Moreover discoverers could not bring away Indians from their province except three or four interpreters. The penalty for violation of the law was death.<sup>273</sup>

Additional regulations of a like nature were provided in 1573, but with particular reference to new discoveries. The religious purpose of new pacifications, for the word “conquests” should not be used, was again stressed and the missionaries were to be given preference in pacifying new lands, if there were any priests who desired to go.<sup>274</sup>

*The First Band of Franciscans.* The redemption of

271. Ofate to Monterey, September 18, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 353; cf. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in *ibid.*, 373.

272. Stevens, Henry and Lucas, Fred W., *The New Laws of the Indies*, VII.

273. *Ibid.*, XVIII.

274. “Ordenances de su Magestad, . . . 1573,” in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 151-152.

souls was thus a prominent end to be achieved by the conquest undertaken by Oñate. Consequently as soon as the early controversy over the limitation of the contract had been settled he asked Father Pila, Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain, for missionaries. The latter responded by naming Fray Rodrigo Durán apostolic-commissary of the band, which was to consist of five friars and one lay brother, according to Oñate's contract. In the group were Fray Baltasar, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, Oñate's cousin, characterized as "eminent in letters," Fray Diego Márquez, the representative of the Inquisition, called "the good" by Villagrá,<sup>275</sup> and Fray Francisco de San Miguel.<sup>276</sup> They were on the point of leaving Mexico for Zacatecas on May 11, 1596,<sup>277</sup> while preparations for an early departure for New Mexico were rapidly being concluded by the army.

*Dispute over Jurisdiction.* The appointment of these Franciscans was the occasion for a dispute between the church and the regular clergy in regard to jurisdiction over New Mexico.<sup>278</sup> The bishop of Guadalajara in this case insisted that the province was within the confines of his bishopric and that he could exclude all friars pretending to administer the sacraments. Monterey feared that some serious scandal might result if both parties, independent of one another, were allowed to send laborers into the new field. The old rivalry of the secular forces would break out and the salvation of souls be forgotten. For that reason he submitted the question to theologians and to the audiencia for their opinion.<sup>279</sup> There is nothing to indicate that the bishop's demands were granted. It is likely that he became less enthusiastic when the region failed to bring forth the wealth in minerals which had been expected. For

275. Villagrá, *Historia*, I. 34; cf. Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I. 671.

276. Monterey à S. M., May 1, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

277. *Carta del Conde de Monterey à S. M.*, May 11, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

278. The jealousy of the church and the orders was very bitter in the Indies. Tithes, tribute and the right of administering the sacraments being the chief causes of conflict. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 663-674.

279. *Carta del Conde de Monterey à S. M.*, May 11, 1596.

many years New Mexico was to remain a missionary field of the Franciscan Order.<sup>280</sup>

*Recall of Fray Márquez.* In regard to the good Fray Márquez some further trouble arose. Monterey was very much displeased that he had been named the agent of the Inquisition, which had been done without his knowledge. In the first place Márquez had been born in New Spain and was an intimate friend of Oñate, and in the second place Monterey questioned the right of the Inquisition to extend its authority over the province.<sup>281</sup> He therefore warned the Holy Office that its claim could probably not be maintained, at least not without a special order. The two objections were effectively argued with the result that the Inquisition agreed to permit his recall and to refrain from naming another in his place. There were of course, but comparatively few Spaniards in Oñate's army, and as the activity of the tribunal could not be extended to the Indians it was evident that there would be little need for Márquez's presence.<sup>282</sup> Monterey explained the situation to the commissary-general, who required Márquez to return to Mexico. He took leave of the army in 1598. Oñate was loath to see him go, and in view of the close relations between them his feelings can readily be appreciated.<sup>283</sup>

*Father Durán Withdraws.* It was while these events were in the initial stage that Oñate received the royal cédula suspending his enterprise, in which state it was to remain a whole year without any sign of relief. Fray Durán became thoroughly discouraged and determined to return to Mexico. The disappointed governor begged him to remain but his requests were of no avail. The friar departed with some of his companions, leaving Father San Miguel

280. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177-178; see the famous Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1680, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis.

281. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596. The Inquisition had been established in New Spain in 1571. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 112; Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 675 ff.

282. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 44.

283. For the departure of Márquez see below, 92.

in his place.<sup>284</sup> Not all of the missionaries left, however. Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, did not leave, nor did Márquez, not till he was compelled to somewhat later.

*The Friars Seek Additional Favors.* There has come down to us an interesting memorial dealing with the proposed conversion of New Mexico. It was probably composed by the Franciscan friars while they were preparing to go to New Mexico. The petition was sent to the commissary-general of the order who approved practically all of its provisions, whereupon it was directed to the viceroy in the hope of securing official sanction. As the king was to pay the expense of the missionaries royal consent was necessary before any increase of missionary force, as asked in the petition, could be made.<sup>285</sup>

The memorial sought to delimit the activities of the religious and temporal authorities. It is obvious that in such a frontier community there would be many opportunities for conflict between the soldiers, bent on wealth and glory, and the friars, ambitious to augment the kingdom of God, and the purpose of the memorial was the elimination of the former.

The petitioners requested the viceroy to increase the number of missionaries going to New Mexico from six to twelve; to prohibit the governor and royal officials from interfering with the establishment of churches or schools wherever the friars might desire to locate them; to have the governor assemble the Indians in towns that they might be more easily reached by the fathers; to permit trips into the interior by the padres without military escort. This last request was frowned upon by the commissary-general, for some of the friars might go on such missions merely to court martyrdom. The memorial further sought to reserve to the religious freedom of communication with the viceroy

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284. *Monterey a S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 44.

285. *Memorial para el yllustrísimo señor viisorrey en lo perteneciente a la doctrina y ministros del Nuevo Mexico*, undated, A. G. I., 58-8-15. It was sent to Spain by Martín López de Gauna, the *secretario de gobernación*.

and their superiors; to guarantee the natives freedom from serving the Spaniards in order not to incite their hostility;<sup>286</sup> to insure the governor's leniency in making a census of the province which was to be used in apportioning tribute; to secure as interpreter, an Indian woman who had been brought from New Mexico, and some orphan boys in New Spain who would be taught the language of the natives of New Mexico; and to safeguard the new land from devastation by pardoning Leyva and Humaña of their misdeed in entering the land without authority. It was evidently in response to this appeal that Father Martínez early in 1598 was able to lead nine other padres to New Mexico.<sup>287</sup>

*The Army Leaves Casco.* It is now necessary to return to the thread of the story. We left Oñate and his followers encamped at the Casco mines, where most of them had been stationed since November 1, 1596. By February, 1597, the inspection had been satisfactorily completed, but the army was not permitted to march. On August 1 of the same year it was set in motion, evidently to bring the Casco division to Santa Bárbara. This occurred on August 19, and here at the farthest outpost of civilization camp was pitched to await the final inspection.<sup>288</sup>

*The Royal Cédula of April 2, 1597.* Meantime the Count of Monterey received the royal cédula of April 2, 1597 with the fleet.<sup>289</sup> The decree was found to release Oñate from the ban of suspension and authorized him to continue the expedition, provided the men and supplies required by the contract were still held in readiness.<sup>290</sup> When the viceroy forwarded this order to Oñate he urged him to declare frankly that the expedition was hopelessly ruined,

286. This point had also been emphasized in Oñate's instructions.

287. See chapter VI, note 346. The interpreter mentioned was Doña Ynes who had been brought from New Mexico by Castaño in 1591. She never learned her native tongue again. See "Ytinerario," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 258.

288. "Ytinerario," in *ibid.*, XVI, 281.

289. Ordinarily it arrived in August or September. In 1591 it came September 28-29; in 1595 on September 18.

290. Royal cédula, April 2, 1597, in *Hackett Hist. Docs.*, 345.

if such should be the case, in order that the conquest should not be put off any longer. Delay, he argued, would merely increase his loss and cause his friends and relatives greater suffering. But Oñate replied with great confidence that he was able to carry out the expedition at once. Monterey was so impressed with the "extreme earnestness" of this letter that he determined to send an officer at once to inspect the army.<sup>291</sup>

*Salazar Sent to Inspect the Army.* On September 18, 1597, Monterey commissioned Juan de Frias Salazar to perform the required inspection.<sup>292</sup> Salazar was a native of the Burgos mountains and an inhabitant and miner of Pachuca. According to Monterey his choice was generally considered excellent. Salazar was rich, well up in years and possessed the character and intelligence required for the task. He was experienced in military affairs, having served in Flanders for several years. Moreover he was said to be entirely reliable and free from any personal or political ties which might hinder him in performing his duty thoroughly and conscientiously.

Nearly a year had passed since Ulloa's inspection and it was therefore probable that many of Oñate's soldiers and his stock of provisions would have dwindled considerably. This led Monterey to demand a thorough inspection in order that there might be no question as to his right to carry on the conquest of New Mexico.<sup>293</sup> Salazar was given absolute power to carry it out. Oñate and all his captains and soldiers were ordered to render obedience to him. In

291. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12; cf. order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Traslado autorizado en virtud de poder que para ello el señor virrey Conde de Monterey para enviar á S. M., y á su Real Consejo de las indias acerca de la visita de la jornada del Nuevo Mexico que hizo en comisión don Juan de Frias Salazar*, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter cited as *Salazar visita*.

292. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

293. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12. Captain Luis Guerrero was named Salazar's assistant and Jaime Fernández was made notary. Salazar received a salary of three hundred pesos per month, Guerrero four pesos per day, Fernández three, the constable two and one-half and the interpreter two. The cost was to be met by the *real hacienda* as expenses of war. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

case of any disturbance the inspector was to mete out justice strictly. Salazar was thus serving in a dual capacity, both as *visitador* and *juez superior*.<sup>294</sup>

The instructions which Salazar carried for the performance of this inspection are known only in part. We know that he was required to take minute account of all the things Oñate had agreed to bring, as stated in his contract, and also of all other things taken along. If it was shown that Oñate had fully complied with his obligations he was to proceed with God's blessing. But if there were deficiencies it was left to Salazar to determine what should be done. A lack of as much as one-eighth part of the required amount might be excused, but that was the maximum. If any such insufficiency existed security had to be given so that the supplies could be forwarded to New Mexico.<sup>295</sup>

*Salazar's Arrival at Santa Bárbara.* When Salazar reached Zacatecas about the middle of October, 1597, some of Oñate's colonists were still there. These he ordered to leave within three days, directing them to go by way of Fresnillo, eight leagues distant, where he would join them in order to make regulations for the march.<sup>296</sup> By November 16 he had reached Santa Bárbara,<sup>297</sup> where his arrival was the occasion for a great demonstration. The governor and his officers appeared in full military regalia and fired a salute to honor their official guest. When Oñate and Salazar met they embraced, further military ceremonies were staged and all marched to the camp where a second salute was given. The inspector's arrival had a remarkable effect on the army. Hope in the future was high.<sup>298</sup>

294. *Ibid.*

295. *Copia de un capítulo de la comunicación que llevó Juan de Fries Salazar quando fue a visitar el campo de Don Juan de Oñate antes de entrar en el Nuevo Mexico.* A. G. I., 58-8-13 undated.

296. Order of Salazar, undated, in *Salazar visita*. Since it required about three weeks to go from Mexico to Zacatecas and approximately an equal length of time to Santa Bárbara the order was probably given about the middle of October.

297. Salazar to Oñate, November 16, 1597, in *ibid.* This notification is the first indication we have of his arrival at Santa Bárbara.

The enthusiasm exhibited in this ostentatious manner soon turned to bitterness. Immediately after his arrival, for instance, Salazar advised Oñate that faithful obedience to all instructions would be necessary if the outcome of the inspection was expected to be successful. Then he ordered that the entire camp be put in immediate marching order.<sup>298</sup> This was on November 16. At the same time he required Oñate to furnish a list of all the officers and men in the army and ordered every member of the expedition to appear personally before him.<sup>299</sup> Oñate received this order with disappointment. The ruin of the enterprise seemed imminent, according to Villagrá, for many days would be needed to prepare and load the carts and wagons.<sup>300</sup> Nevertheless immediate compliance with the order was promised, though it was accompanied by a mild remonstrance, since the army was comfortably established and prepared to undergo the visitation in that locality.<sup>301</sup>

Salazar soon made provision for protecting the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the camp. Captain Juan de Gordejuela, the alcalde of the province, was authorized to protect them and to redress all wrongs whether inflicted on Spaniards or Indians by soldiers or colonists from the army. Members of the expedition were prohibited from taking anything which did not belong to them. For the first offense the guilty one must pay for the stolen goods at the rate of four times its value and receive six lashes. A second offense would necessitate more rigorous punishment. The order was publicly proclaimed.<sup>302</sup>

*The Army Forced to Leave Santa Bárbara.* Six days had now passed since the inspector first required Oñate to

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298. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 46. Villagrá vividly depicts these scenes and the change in the *esprit de corps* of the army. In their joy, he states, the soldiers strutted about like peacocks.

299. *Ibid.*

300. *Aviso*, November 16, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

301. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 46.

302. *Aviso*, November 17, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

303. Orders of Salazar, November 21, 1597, in *ibid.*

have the army in marching order and it was still at Santa Bárbara. A second notice was given and a warning sounded. Again the governor promised to comply, but a louder protest was made. All his supplies were stored in Santa Bárbara warehouses and he contended that the inspection ought to be held there. In spite of this situation he claimed to be exercising all the diligence and haste possible. On the same day Salazar forbade anyone, either within or without the army, to loan Oñate anything in order to help him pass the inspection. If this had been done immediate notification had to be made thereof.<sup>304</sup>

Notwithstanding the above orders the army remained in camp, and as a result a third notice came.<sup>305</sup> The governor was now ordered to break camp and to set out toward the frontier, continuing till a suitable place for holding the *visita* should be found. Salazar maintained that it could not be done satisfactorily at Santa Bárbara. On December 5 there came a fourth order of like tenor, which also requested him to account for his failure to obey. Oñate was warned that this delay was at his own risk.<sup>306</sup> This elicited a vigorous response from the aggrieved governor. Great injury was being done him, he insisted. According to his contract the inspection should be held at Santa Bárbara where the army was then stationed, as that was the last settlement. Nevertheless neither he nor any of his men had been inactive. Their preparations were so far along that the march could be undertaken within a week..<sup>307</sup>

Though Oñate was so very indignant because Salazar would not hold the inspection at Santa Bárbara it is clear that the latter's orders were not all unfavorable to him. Thus he prohibited the soldiers from scattering while on the march. No one might turn back. The damage already inflicted on the country was bad enough, and returning

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304. See reports under date of November 28, 1597, in *ibid.*

305. *Tercero apercibimiento*, November 30, 1597, in *ibid.*

306. *Quarto apercibimiento*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

307. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

bands of soldiers would probably be in more desperate circumstances and cause further trouble. This order was occasioned by the departure of some soldiers on December 4. Oñate was notified that if these deserters did not return as ordered the matter would be placed in the viceroy's hands.<sup>308</sup> In his reply the governor agreed to cooperate with Salazar. He promised that the army should march without being divided. He expressed pleasure that no one would be allowed to depart, for that was exactly what he desired. Regarding the soldiers who had left the day previous he could only say that they had gone without permission to round up some cattle. Such was the story told in Santa Bárbara. In compliance with Salazar's order he forbade them to take part in the enterprise.<sup>309</sup>

*Final Arrangements for the Inspection.* Plans for the inspection were meanwhile being formulated and enforced by stern discipline. By one order every member of the expedition had been required to declare personally what he was bringing, whether it was provisions or munitions, horses or cattle, or anything else. This order had been issued November 16.<sup>310</sup> Now it was decreed that this had to be done within four days or the goods would be subject to confiscation.<sup>311</sup> The order was generally observed, though a few stragglers appeared later in December. Those at Todos Santos gave their declarations between January 4 and 6, 1598. Salazar wanted to secure a record of what each man possessed in order to distinguish their goods from what Oñate was bringing.<sup>312</sup> A short time later it was decreed that no one might leave for New Mexico without the inspector's approval under penalty of death; nor could any live stock be taken along unless first seen by the inspecting officers.<sup>313</sup>

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308. *Auto*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid*.

309. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid*.

310. See above, 82.

311. *Bando*, December 5, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

312. *Manifestación*, in *ibid*.

313. *Bando*, December 9, 1597, in *ibid*.

After oft repeated orders Oñate finally set the army in motion on December 18, 1597.<sup>314</sup> The next two days were spent rounding up the cattle and crossing the San Bartolomé river. Two and one-half leagues farther on a halt was ordered at the San Gerónimo river where the inspection was ordered to be held.<sup>315</sup> This aroused Villagrá's ire, for it was a barren spot. Some relief was afforded, however, when a few small springs furnishing an ample water supply were found near by. The faithful poet ascribed this discovery to the mercy of God.<sup>316</sup>

Without further delay Salazar made the final arrangements for the inspection. Two experienced stockmen were named to assist in inspecting the animals.<sup>317</sup> Then notice was served that the inspection would actually begin on December 22 at the San Gerónimo river, one league from the mines of Todos Santos.<sup>318</sup> The governor was required to take oath that all the things in his possession were his own and that nothing had been furnished him secretly. This he did in the inspector's presence.<sup>319</sup>

In the neighborhood of Santa Bárbara lived several men who possessed large holdings and great herds of cattle. Salazar feared that Oñate might have made corrupt arrangements with them to help him pass the inspection. He required these men, Bartolomé Delgado, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves and Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida, to give sworn statement of the cattle they had given, sold or loaned him. Only Pedro Sánchez de Chaves had aided Oñate, having sold him several hundred head of stock. As it was a legitimate sale no objections were made.<sup>320</sup>

314. *Fee*, December 19, 1597, in *ibid*. The "Ytinerario" gives the date when the start was made as the 17. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 231.

315. This was December 20, *ibid*.

316. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 46.

317. They were Bartolomé Delgado of Nombre de Dios and Juan Sánchez de Ulloa of Todos Santos. *Auto*, December 20, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

318. *Auto*, December 21, 1597, in *ibid*.

319. *Auto*, and Oñate's reply, December 22, 1597, in *ibid*. At the same time Oñate chose the *contador* Alonso Sánchez to represent him during the *visita*.

320. Order of Salazar and reply, December 21, 1597, in *ibid*. Pedro de la Cruz also appears as one of the prominent inhabitants of this locality.

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Before actually beginning the inspection Salazar ordered that no one would be allowed to leave the camp or the *quartel de armas* for any reason whatsoever, except by his express order.<sup>321</sup> This proclamation filled the army with dismay. It caused the soldiers who were guarding the stock to come into camp, for instance, leaving the latter to stray and to cause further confusion.<sup>322</sup> But the *visita* was begun on December 22 as had been decreed.

While the inspection was under way it became evident to Salazar that injuries were being done the ranchers of the neighborhood by the soldiers. Perhaps the stringent measures adopted fostered a spirit of rebellion. At any rate cattle were disappearing from the vicinity without any more reasonable explanation than that they were stolen and slaughtered by the soldiers. So it was ordered that cattle should not be killed outside of the *quartel*, and that slaughtering should occur on only one day during the week, Oñate being privileged to designate the day. Both he and Salazar then chose a representative who were to inspect the cattle on the stated day. They had to note the brand and report to the inspector.<sup>323</sup>

*The Outcome of the Inspection.* From December 22, 1597, to January 8, the inspection was in progress. Salazar gave it his personal attention, for it was not to be a mere formality, according to the viceroy's instructions. The inspector obeyed literally, if the poet is to be trusted. The cattle were first listed, one kind at the time. It was never known till the day previous what particular kind would be inspected in the morning. This compelled the men to go out at night to round up the scattered animals. If more should later be found Salazar refused to enter it in his record.<sup>324</sup> Oñate did fall short of his obligations in some respects, but whether Villagrá's excuses are the right ones is

321. Order of Salazar, December 21, 1597, in *ibid*; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 47.

322. *Ibid.*

323. Order of Salazar, January 4, in *Salazar visita*.

324. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 47.

another story. It is obvious that Salazar had his own difficulties in carrying out his task. A brief table will illustrate Oñate's chief deficits.

Name	Required	Deficit
goats	1000 head	284 head
sheep for wool	3000 head	483 head
sheep for mutton	1000 head	617 head
colts	150 head	54 head
mares	150 head	49 head
wheat	500 pesos	125 pesos
jerked beef	500 pesos	500 pesos
iron for tools	600 pesos	37 pesos
medicine	500 pesos	375 pesos
gifts to Indians	500 pesos	144 pesos
frieze & sackcloth	500 pesos	331 pesos
lead <sup>325</sup>	100 quintals	22 quintals
powder	30 quintals	4 quintals
quicksilver	10 quintals	5 quintals

There was, on the other hand, a surplus in some divisions, notably in the footgear, flour and iron tools. Oñate also brought some things not stipulated in the contract.<sup>326</sup> These surplus materials were substituted for some of the less important deficiencies.<sup>327</sup> Nevertheless the final count showed that he was short over two thousand three hundred pesos.<sup>328</sup>

When the inspection of the cattle, supplies and provisions was completed the final review was ordered to be held at the mines of Todos Santos on January 8, 1598. Indians, mulattos or mestizos were barred from the review unless they made declaration of their status. If anyone proposed to enlist with the intention of remaining behind after hav-

325. Oñate offered twenty quintals of greda as a substitute for the lead. However when Salazar passed San Gerónimo on the way to Mexico city he found two Indians with a cart and oxen digging up the said greda. They said that Oñate had sold it to Pedro de la Cruz, one of the residents of that region. Reports of Salazar and Negrete, February 6, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

326. *Visita*, in *ibid.*

327. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I. 58-3-18.

328. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

ing helped the governor through the muster Salazar threatened the death penalty. They were given a free chance to leave, as were those who might have been persuaded to join the army.<sup>329</sup>

On the eve of the review Salazar had learned that a number of soldiers were dependent on Oñate for their equipment and he requested him to declare the truth under oath. He named twenty-two men and desired to know what each was to receive. From this statement can be inferred how great a struggle Oñate was putting forth to fulfill the terms of the contract. Only in this way could he get soldiers to remain through the long delays. In his reply only twenty men were named as dependent upon him and he specified what each was to receive. With slight exceptions this included two horses, helmet, visor, coat of mail, cuishes, harquebus and horse armor.<sup>330</sup> It is significant to note, however, that of the twenty only eleven appeared in the final review. What had become of the others? Villagrá says that many took advantage of Salazar's offer permitting the return of those who wanted to do so.<sup>331</sup> Evidently the faint-hearted took advantage of that opportunity and deserted the friends who had striven so hard to keep the expedition at its full number.

The review at Todos Santos was held as ordered, the performance taking place within the church. It was conducted in the following manner. As each appeared his name was recorded, together with his birthplace and his father's name. His personal appearance was briefly described, and he had to present the arms with which he was provided. When the task was completed at the end of the day one hundred and twenty-nine had appeared before the inspector, seventy-one less than the required number.<sup>332</sup>

329. Orders of Salazar, January 7, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

330. *Auto*, and Oñate's reply, January 7, 1598, in *ibid.*

331. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 47-48.

332. *Muestra y lista de la gente*, January 8, 1598, in *Salazar visita; Monterey a S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-8-13. The "Memorial" says there were one hundred and thirty men. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 198. Besides these Oñate had other

With that the inspection was over except in so far as Oñate's personal equipment was concerned. It was listed the next day and found to contain more than had been agreed upon.<sup>333</sup>

As Salazar's instructions had authorized the continuance of the expedition provided bond was given for making good any deficiencies which might appear, Oñate was forced to avail himself of that opportunity. Again he sought aid from his cousin Juan Guerra, the wealthy miner of Aviño. The appeal was promptly answered. Juan Guerra and his wife, Doña Ana de Zaldívar y Mendoza, bonded themselves to pay for whatever deficits the inspection had revealed. The guarantee was drawn up at Aviño January 21, 1598. Presenting the inspector with this security Oñate requested permission to proceed. This was not given, however, till he had certified that this should cover the expenses of eighty soldiers, of everything that would be required for their journey to New Mexico, of all damages that might be committed on the march and of the cost of an inspection of such reinforcements.<sup>334</sup> With this new indebtedness on his hands Oñate at last directed his force toward New Mexico.

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soldiers, but they did not dare to enlist. They had evidently committed offenses and incurred Salazar's displeasure. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

333. *Para la persona*, January 9, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

334. *Escritura otorgado en favor de la real hacienda por Don Juan de Oñate*, January 27, 1598, A. G. I., 58-8-12; *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

## Chapter VI.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLONY

*The Army Leaves Santa Bárbara.* With the ordeal of the Salazar inspection over the final preparations for the march to the north began. These were soon completed, and on January 26, 1598, the expedition began moving out of San Gerónimo,<sup>385</sup> where it had been stationed since December 20, 1597.

When the Conchos river was reached on January 30 a week's halt was made in order to review the army and formally finish the inspection. Spanish travellers in America never encamped on the near side of a river, but always made haste to cross and camp on the farther shore.<sup>386</sup> The scene that now took place when Oñate's army reached the Conchos is vividly portrayed by Villagrá. One hundred and twenty-nine soldiers, eighty-three wagons and seven thousand head of stock had to cross the river.<sup>387</sup> No one dared tempt the rushing stream. Seeing the fainthearted soldiers lag Oñate mounted a charger and made a stirring challenge to his men. Then he spurred his horse into the river and soon gained the opposite bank. Returning to the army he took the lead in goading the stock across the stream.<sup>388</sup>

One incident in this scene called forth a novel plan.

385. "Ytinerario," January 26, 1598, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 232. The "Ytinerario" will hereafter be cited by date entry only.

386. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

387. "Ytinerario," April 1-2, 1598; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 35,49. When the Ulloa inspection took place only forty three carts were listed, nineteen of which belonged to various captains and soldiers. In the Salazar inspection only the twenty four carts Oñate possessed were noted. On the other hand the "Ytinerario" states specifically that eighty-three wagons were taken to New Mexico, twenty-one being deserted by the wayside as they were emptied of provisions. See below. The latter figure is undoubtedly correct as the personal possessions of the soldiers were not all listed.

388. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 50-51.

When the sheep were driven into the water, many sank as the wool became water soaked. To remedy this tragic situation the governor ordered his astonished followers to construct a bridge. It was a primitive pontoon structure. Two dozen cart wheels were placed in the stream some distance apart and secured by ropes. Trees were felled, stripped of branches and placed on top of the wheels. A layer of brush and sticks was added, then a covering of earth, and the bridge was completed. The sheep crossed dry-shod, and the structure was quickly destroyed as night settled on the scene.<sup>339</sup>

*Departure of the Visitor.* The following morning the people assembled to witness the departure of the visitor.<sup>340</sup> All expected an encouraging message of farewell while the governor hoped to receive authority to continue the expedition. He was deeply disappointed. After mass had been said Salazar informed him that he might proceed with the conquest, and without further ado turned his eyes toward Mexico city.<sup>341</sup>

The reason for the inspector's action is clear. Oñate had not been able to meet his obligations, and Salazar refused to declare the contract fulfilled without consulting the viceroy. The permission to enter New Mexico was thus really conditional, as Monterey informed the king. If Oñate did not prove satisfactory it would still be possible to take different action.<sup>342</sup>

With the visitor out of the way the expedition was soon ready for the march. On February 7, 1598, the camp at the Conchos river was deserted. But instead of following the course of that stream to the Rio Grande as previous expeditions had done, Oñate struck out directly toward the

339. Villagrá, *Historia*, I. 52.

340. This was perhaps February 2. Salazar's last order from the Conchos was made at that time when he ordered the death penalty for anyone turning back. Order of Salazar, in *Salazar visita*.

341. Villagrá, *Historia*, 53.

342. Monterey á S. M., May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

north, opening a new trail to the river.<sup>343</sup> In the first three days march the colonists went eleven leagues to the San Pedro river. Here a month was spent awaiting the arrival of a new body of Franciscans.<sup>344</sup>

It is of interest to note that about this time Fray Diego Márquez, whom Villagrá calls the only confessor in the army, returned to Mexico. The governor implored him to remain, all to no avail. As he remained obdurate Oñate ordered a guard to accompany him, Captain Farfán in command. It departed as the army approached the San Pedro river on February 10.<sup>345</sup> In less than a month, March 3, Farfán returned escorting the Franciscans on the final stretch of their journey to join the expedition. Fray Alonso Martínez was the new commissary of the group. Their arrival was celebrated with ceremonies befitting the occasion.<sup>346</sup>

*Zaldívar Explores the Road.* Meanwhile on February 14, the governor sent out a party of seventeen men, led by the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, to find a wagon road to the Rio del Norte.<sup>347</sup> Many difficulties were encountered by this force. Their guides proved a sorry lot. Water was hard to find, at one time three days being spent without any. Provisions, also, were running low. Then Zaldívar sent a part of his force back to the camp, giving them strict orders not to utter a word regarding the hunger and thirst they had experienced.<sup>348</sup> With his remaining

343. See below.

344. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598.

345. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 55-56. Bancroft leaves the impression that Fray Márquez left the expedition at the same time as the visitor, which took place about February 2, 1598. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

346. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; the Franciscans were: Alonso Martínez, Francisco de Zamora, Juan de Rosas, Francisco de San Miguel, Juan Claros, Alonso de Lugo, Cristóbal de Salazar, Andrés Corchado, and two lay brothers, Pedro de Vergara and Juan de San Buenaventura. Three brothers are also named, Martín, Francisco and Juan de Dios.

347. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598. Oñate says that Zaldívar had sixteen men. Oñate to the king, Rio de las Conchos, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.* 397.

348. On the contrary they were to dissimulate by announcing good news. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 56-58.

companions the *sargento mayor* reached the Rio del Norte on February 28, after innumerable hardships. From the Conchos to the Rio Grande they had traveled about seventy leagues.<sup>349</sup> Their purpose having been fulfilled they rejoined the camp on March 10, three days after the return of the first group.<sup>350</sup>

*From the San Pedro to the Rio Grande.* The entire expedition, including the missionaries, being now united, camp was broken the very day of Zaldívar's return.<sup>351</sup> Two days later, from the Nombre de Dios river, Captain Landin was sent to Mexico city with letters.<sup>352</sup>

Gradually the little caravan crawled forward with little of importance to record. March 20 was a day of rest which was spent in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. A little chapel was built, and the missionaries spent the night in penitence and prayer, petitioning the Lord to guide them on their march as he had formerly led the children of Israel out of Egypt.<sup>353</sup>

As it was Easter time the Spaniards gave every object or stopping place a name befitting the season. These names have not been retained, so it is difficult to map out Oñate's precise route. In a general way it followed the line of the Mexican Central Railway.

On March 30 a short rest was taken in the Valle de San Martín, the latitude being exactly thirty degrees.<sup>354</sup> The governor frequently found it difficult to find water for

349. On this trip they heard of the pueblos which were said to be sixteen or twenty leagues beyond the Rio Grande. The scouting party had left the hostile Pataragueyes forty leagues to the right. These were the Jumanos near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande. Oñate to the king, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

350. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 58.

351. "Ytinerario," March 10, 1598.

352. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1598; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 58. One of these letters was from Oñate to the king. Again he told the story of his troubles in order to convince the crown that the contract, as confirmed by Velasco, ought to be restored. It was dated March 15, 1598. See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

353. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 58- 59; "Ytinerario," March 20, 1598. Villagrá says that in a secret spot known only to himself, Oñate spent part of the day on his knees, lacerating his shoulders and asking divine guidance in carrying out his mission as leader of the expedition. Many others did the same. *Historia*, I, 59.

354. "Ytinerario," March 27-30, 1598.

both men and beasts. On April 1 this deficiency was somewhat miraculously supplied. That day all had been compelled to march without water, but an extraordinarily heavy rain left the water standing in large pools, so that the entire herd of seven thousand animals drank their fill. Two days later the dry bed of a river was discovered. Nearby was a marsh formed by some hot springs. This was in latitude thirty and one-half degrees.<sup>355</sup>

On April 9 the army approached the region of the sand dunes. This was in approximately thirty-one degrees, for on the next day camp was pitched in precisely that latitude.<sup>356</sup> Some days were now spent in avoiding the sand dunes and finding a route not destitute of water. For this reason the expedition marched within reach of the Rio Grande, in order that the cattle might go to the river for water. On April 20 the main part of the caravan reached the great river about twenty-five miles south of El Paso, at a place where the stream was very sluggish and the bed soft and muddy. Here nearly a week was spent until the entire expedition could unite. It had been forced to march in separate detachments in order to secure water.<sup>357</sup>

*Taking Possession of the Land.* Having reached the Rio Grande its course was followed till April 30, the day of the Ascension of the Lord, when the governor planned to take official possession of the land. A campsite particularly appropriate for that purpose was selected, and everyone in the expedition was ordered to don his finest clothes to make a splendid show on the festive day.<sup>358</sup> Thereupon the customary elaborate ceremony of taking possession was observed. Not only New Mexico was claimed for God, King Philip and himself, but all the adjoining provinces as well.<sup>359</sup>

355. *Ibid.*, April 1 and 4, 1598. See also Villagrá *Historia*, I, 75.

356. "Ytinerario," April 9-10, 1598.

357. *Ibid.*, April 12-20, 1598; cf. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 172.

358. "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598; *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco a S. M.*, March 22, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-8/22.

359. The curious document which tells of this ceremony is given in full by Villagrá. It was witnessed by Juan Pérez de Donis, the royal notary, by all the friars and also by the officers and soldiers of the army. *Historia*, I, 77-81.

As part of the festivities Fray Alonso Martínez preached a learned sermon. But it was also a time for rejoicing and merry making, the "otro" Mexico was not far distant. In the afternoon the royal standard was blessed and placed in charge of the royal ensign, Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa.<sup>360</sup> The day ended with the presentation of an original comedy written by Captain Farfán. Its theme dealt with the reception which the church would receive in New Mexico.<sup>361</sup>

*El Paso del Norte.* Following these events the march continued up stream. May 3 the first Indians from the river region were brought to camp. These were kindly treated, clothed and sent to bring their companions. The next day the army was shown a convenient ford, *el paso*, to which the natives came for leagues around when going inland. It is interesting to note that the ford by which Oñate crossed the Rio Grande is the modern El Paso, a name that has been retained from his day till our own. Here about forty natives appeared, armed with bows and gayly decorated with paint. Presents were generously distributed among them, in return for which they aided the Spaniards in getting the sheep across the river. They told the Europeans, by signs, that the settlements were only eight days' march ahead.<sup>362</sup>

*Reconnoitering the First Pueblos.* The expedition was now on soil which had already been traversed by Spanish feet. The tracks left by Castaño's wagons when he was led captive from New Mexico in 1591, were seen on May

360. Writing to the king three years later Don Luis de Velasco charged Oñate with irregularities in handling the royal standard during the performance. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. This was also one of the charges later brought against Oñate by the fiscal of the audiencia of Mexico. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-8-17.

361. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 76; "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598.

362. *Ibid.*, May 3-4, 1598; Villagrá also refers to these events but only in a general way. *Historia*, I, 76. On April 30 the army reached the Rio Grande exactly in latitude thirty-one and one-half degrees. On May 4 it was at El Paso in latitude thirty-one precisely. About eight and one-half leagues had been traversed, and though the march was upstream half a degree had been lost. Such is the record given in the "Ytinerario". It is true that there is a bend in the river, but not enough to account for this discrepancy.

4. At other places stories of Castaño's escapade were heard. The march continued, and on May 12 Oñate sent Captain Aguilar with six soldiers to reconnoitre. He had orders not to enter any of the native settlements under penalty of death.<sup>363</sup> This nearly proved his undoing, for when he returned on the 20, he had visited the first of the New Mexico pueblos. For disobeying in this manner the governor was on the point of garroting him, but relented when the captains and soldiers interceded in his behalf. Fearing that the Indians would now become frightened and hide their maize Oñate set out for the pueblos two days later with a picked body of men. He was also on the lookout for Humaña and Leyva, for it was not yet known that they were dead. The rest of the colonists were left to follow more slowly with the wagons.<sup>364</sup> The point from which Oñate here set out was fifteen and one-half leagues from El Paso.<sup>365</sup>

The governor's small force moved along under great hardships. The road was new and extremely difficult and water always scarce. It was the famous "Jornada del Muerto" which was being crossed. May 25, when the trail again followed the river, greater progress was made, and in two days, after an additional twenty-two leagues had been traversed, the soldiers reached "la ciénega de la mesilla de guinea," a distinctive mesa of black rock.<sup>366</sup> This conspicuous landmark, according to Bandelier, corresponds with the present San Marcial.<sup>367</sup> The next day the first

363. "Ytinerario," May 4-12, 1598.

364. *Ibid.*, May 20 and 22, 1598. With Oñate were Fathers Martinez and Salazar, the *sargento mayor* and the *maestre de campo*. Villagrá says there were fifty men in the group. *Historia*, I, 82. Oñate gives the number as sixty. See his letter of March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 213.

365. See "Ytinerario," for dates up to May 22, 1598.

366. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1598.

367. Bandelier, A. F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880 to 1885*, I, 130-131, 131 note1. This is further substantiated by the detailed account of the pueblos given by the Chamuscado Rodríguez expedition. Hernan Gallegos, *Relación y concudío de el viaje y subseso que Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico . . . 1581-1582*, A. G. I. 1-1-3/22. A copy of this document is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

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pueblos were seen after a march of four leagues. Here camp was pitched near the second one, called Qualacú. The Indians, excited and suspicious at the approach of the strangers, deserted their homes. Generous gifts of trinkets quieted them somewhat, and the soldiers remained camped near the river for some time in order not to unduly arouse them. Meanwhile provisions were sent back for the soldiers who were following.<sup>368</sup>

About a fortnight later the march was resumed by the advance party. June 14 the men marched three leagues and halted in front of Teipana, or Socorro, as the Spaniards called it, because there they found a much needed supply of maize. This stop seems to have been in the vicinity of the present Socorro.<sup>369</sup> Another seven leagues beyond Socorro was the pueblo of New Seville, which may correspond with the old pueblo of Sevilleta, near La Joya.<sup>370</sup> At that place the Spanish soldiers dallied five days. Then they went to the new pueblo of San Juan Baptista, four leagues to the north.<sup>371</sup> It, too, had been quickly abandoned. From this time numerous pueblos were seen on either side of the river, though they were generally deserted by the frightened natives.

In the meantime Oñate had heard of two Mexican Indians, Thomas and Cristóbal, when they sent a spy to visit him at San Juan Baptista. These two had remained in New Mexico since the time of Castaño's entrada, and would be invaluable as interpreters and guides. So the governor set out for Puaray, sixteen leagues beyond San Juan Bap-

368. "Ytinerario," May 22-28, 1598. The itinerary states that they remained encamped by the river a month. This is contradicted a little later when it says they left after a stay of two weeks.

369. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 129. The total distance from El Paso is given as forty-one and one-half leagues and is an aid in arriving at this conclusion, as are the subsequent marches of the soldiers.

370. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

371. "Ytinerario," June 12-16, 1598. So called because it was reached on Saint John's day. It should not be confused with San Juan de los Caballeros. Perhaps the ruins at Sabinal indicate the location of San Juan Baptista. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

tista, in order to find them. He reached it on June 21.<sup>372</sup> In this period, as Hackett has demonstrated in his study of the reconquest after the great revolt in 1680, Puaray was situated one league above Alameda, or about nine leagues above Isleta.<sup>373</sup> This is further substantiated by the "census" made by the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition in 1581.<sup>374</sup>

At Puaray Oñate was told that the two Indians in question were at Santo Domingo, six leagues distant. Accompanied by his *maestre de campo* he immediately set out to secure the two men, and on the following day took them unawares and brought them back to Puaray. Now all prepared to go to Santa Domingo, but before doing so the two Zaldivars and Father Salazar visited the pueblo which they called Tria, perhaps Sia.<sup>375</sup> Then the party moved on to San Felipe, almost three leagues, and on June 30 the soldiers reached Santa Domingo, four leagues more.<sup>376</sup> At that time the pueblo stood very near the present Santo Domingo.<sup>377</sup>

*Santo Domingo Renders Obedience.* Here Oñate remained approximately a week in order to bring the Indians of the surrounding country under his authority. Various chiefs were summoned, and on July 7 there was held the first council of seven chiefs in response to the governor's call.<sup>378</sup> Many other native leaders were pres-

372. "Ytinerario," June 24-27, 1598; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 84. The natives of Puaray received Oñate very hospitably. The friars were lodged in a newly painted room. When the paint had dried they saw pictures of Fathers Rodriguez and López, which the Indians had tried to conceal. These two friars had remained in New Mexico in 1581. Both had suffered martyrdom.

373. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1681," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391.

374. Hernan Gallegos, *Relación y concudío*, A. G. I., 1-3/22.

375. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 562.

376. "Ytinerario," June 28 and 30, 1598; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 85. As Bancroft says "not much importance can be attached to exact distances in these records. Clearly San Felipe and Santo Domingo correspond with those still so called, though it is not certain that the sites were not slightly changed in the next century." *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130 note 5. For a discussion of the Spanish league see Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*, 8-9.

377. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 185 note 1.

378. "Ytinerario," July 7, 1598.

ent for the occasion, as well as the Spanish officers and missionaries. All gathered in the great *estufa* of the pueblo. The interpreters were sworn in, and Oñate explained to the assembled chiefs the purpose of his coming. He had been sent by the most powerful monarch in the world, King Philip of Spain, who wished that they should be his subjects. If they submitted they would be protected from their enemies. But he was especially eager for the salvation of their souls. Oñate explained the doctrine of salvation and the fate awaiting those who did not accept baptism. After having listened to these new ideas the chiefs willingly agreed to accept the God and king of the Spaniards, and as a sign of their submission kneeled and kissed the hands of the father commissary and the governor.<sup>379</sup> Whether or not Oñate's speech on conversion and vassalage was understood, it was a necessary affair, and the Indians accepted the new position, perhaps as Bancroft says, because "present disaster and future damnation" seemed "inseparably connected with refusal."<sup>380</sup>

*The Capital Established at San Juan.* After having received the submission of these tribal chieftains at Santo Domingo Oñate soon set out on further explorations. He evidently went to Bove, renamed San Ildefonso,<sup>381</sup> as soon as the ceremony at Santo Domingo was over, (the distance was eight leagues), for on July 10 he left that place and

379. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios de Santo Domingo" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 101-108.

380. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130-131.

381. The "Ytinerario" says nothing of the trip from Santo Domingo to Bove. It states: "Partimos de Bove, que llamamos Sant Ildefonso. . . . ay casi ocho leguas y algun mal camino. . . ." It does not state where they came to at the end of the eight leagues, but continues: "A honce, andabimos dos leguas, al pueblo de Caypa, que llamamos Sant Joan . . ." There is clearly an error in this account. Instead of leaving Bove they must have gone to Bove, a distance of nearly eight leagues, and reached it on the 10th. Then on the 11th two leagues to San Juan. This explanation corresponds with the actual distances and also makes possible the detour of the carts by way of San Marcos. Bancroft moved San Ildefonso farther south in an effort to make it agree with the "Ytinerario". But that is incorrect, for San Ildefonso, according to another source, was three leagues from San Juan. Testimony of Jusepe Brondate in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 28, 1601. A. G. I., 58-8-15. Compare Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 131.

went two leagues to Caypa which he reached the next day. The carts were compelled to make a detour of an additional six leagues by way of San Marcos because the direct road was not fit for wagons. Here at Caypa Oñate established his capital. It was christened San Juan,<sup>382</sup> the name by which it has ever since been known. In Oñate's time it was frequently called San Juan de los Caballeros, but the origin of the name is obscure.<sup>383</sup> The Spaniards maintained their headquarters here till the establishment of San Gabriel west of the Rio Grande.<sup>384</sup> Just when the change was made is uncertain, but at the time the relief expedition arrived at Christmas, 1600, the capital had been changed to that place.<sup>385</sup>

*Hasty Exploration of the Land.* This period of the preliminary exploration of New Mexico by Oñate and his friends was a period of great hopes. Might not any mo-

382. "Ytinerario," July 9-11, 1598. Twitchell holds that the carts on their detour passed near the present site of the city of Santa Fé. *Leading Facts*, 319 note 325. That they may have passed near the site of the city is quite possible, but Twitchell has the carts going south to reach San Juan! He is misled by the "Ytinerario" and has the carts set out from San Ildefonso, going up the present Pojoaque river by way of the pueblo of Tesuque, thence over a divide of two leagues to the Rio Santa Fé to San Marcos. A careful study of the "Ytinerario" shows clearly that the party went from Santo Domingo to San Ildefonso, the carts perhaps going over the route suggested by Twitchell, but in the reverse order. They were going north, not south.

383. Villagrá says it was so named in order to commemorate the fame of those who first raised the banner of Christ in those regions. *Historia*, I, 87. Because of a story, also told by Villagrá, of how the padres produced some much needed rain, Bancroft infers that the name was due to the courtesy of the Spaniards. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 181. Twitchell holds that it was so named because of the friendliness with which the Indians of San Juan received Oñate. *Leading Facts*, I, 315.

384. There is a controversy regarding the location of San Gabriel. Professor Bolton, relying on a contemporary map, places it on the right bank of the Chama, while Twitchell insists it was on the left bank of that stream, holding that the map is in error. He bases his contention on ruins found there and on traditions of the Indians. He quotes a document of 1710 to support his view. But it should be noted that the map referred to has a pueblo on the left bank of the Chama and tradition may readily have confused the two as regards the location of Oñate's headquarters during those first years in New Mexico. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 203, and map facing 212; Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, 17, 22.

385. "Entrasemos en el real y pueblo de San Gabriel donde hallamos á Don Juan de Oñate y la demás gente. . . ." Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo México y diligencias para que se levante el campo*, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-8-15. The capital was still at San Juan as late as March, 1599. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 203 note 1.

ment reward their search with the discovery of untold wealth? Consequently we find the governor on the road again on July 13, going in the direction of Picuries, six leagues from San Juan, which stands on nearly the same spot today as it did then.<sup>886</sup> On the way some one found a bit of ore which had accumulated in the riffles of a creek, but that was the sole extent of the precious metals discovered. Thence Oñate proceeded to Taos, another six leagues. Its location has changed a few hundred yards, the former site being farther toward the northeast. This was the northern limit of exploration at that time.<sup>887</sup>

By July 19 the governor was back in San Juan, but not to stay. The next day he started a tour which went through San Ildefonso, San Marcos, San Cristóbal, Galisteo and Pecos.<sup>888</sup> Returning at once he reached Santo Domingo on July 27, where the *maestre de campo* Zaldívar had arrived with the carts and the main body of the troops on his way to San Juan.<sup>889</sup> One can perhaps imagine the eagerness with which the newcomers listened to the stories of their friends who had already seen much of the "otro" Mexico, though not much of the looked for treasure.

Continuing the tour on August 2, the governor's party visited Tria on the way to Emmes. Here was a whole group of pueblos, eleven in number. This was the Jemez group, but modern archaeologists have not been able to determine the number or location of the various pueblos.<sup>890</sup> The Spaniards were astonished at their almost inaccessible location.

886. "Ytinerario," July 13, 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 123.

887. "Ytinerario," July 18, 1598; Hodge *Handbook*, II, 688.

888. San Ildefonso was reached the 20, San Marcos, five leagues distant, the 21. San Cristóbal the 22, Galisteo the 24, and Pecos the 25. On the 26 the party returned to San Marcos, a distance of five leagues, where ores were extracted from some mines, and on the 27 to Santo Domingo. See "Ytinerario," for dates mentioned.

San Marcos was near Callaite, famed for its "turquoise mines." Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 92-93. San Cristóbal was five miles east of Galisteo. *Ibid.*, 103-105. Galisteo was near its present location. *Ibid.*, 100-101, and Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 481. Pecos was on an upper branch of the Pecos river. *Ibid.*, II, 220. See also Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 127ff; II, 125ff.

889. See "Ytinerario" for dates mentioned.

890. *Ibid.*, August 2-5 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 204-207. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 629.

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With this trip over they returned as far as San Ildefonso, which they reached on the 9, and undoubtedly to San Juan the next day.<sup>391</sup> Nowhere had Oñate found the things which were primarily sought. It was obvious that he would have to go farther afield in his search, and the next few years were spent chasing numerous, but ever elusive, hopes.

*The Arrival of the Carts.* Meantime the carts and wagons had experienced even greater difficulties than Oñate's advance party, as it took them over a month to traverse the distance to the first pueblos covered by the governor in less than a week. June 26 the eighty-three wagons, now reduced to sixty-one, approached the first settlements. Santo Domingo was reached on July 27. The twenty-two carts not accounted for had been deserted as they were emptied of provisions.<sup>392</sup> The soldiers and colonists bringing the carts were discontented, largely because of a lack of provisions. As a result there was difficulty in maintaining discipline.<sup>393</sup> To avoid trouble and hurry them along Oñate sent his *maestre de campo* to be their leader. Finally on August 18 they reached the capital which had been established at San Juan. From San Bartolomé they had traveled one hundred and sixty-one weary leagues.<sup>394</sup>

*The First Church is Built.* Shortly after this a church was added to the little Spanish settlement in New Mexico. It was San Juan Baptista, begun on August 23 and so far completed in fifteen days that the dedicatory exercises

391. "Ytinerario," August 9, 1598. This document only tells of Oñate's progress as far as San Ildefonso, but it is safe to assume that he went on to San Juan where the construction of an irrigation ditch was begun on the 11. This canal was for the "city of San Francisco." Fifteen hundred Indians gathered to assist in buliding it. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1598.

392. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1598.

393. When Oñate went ahead "to pacify" the land he had sent Zubia back with a supply of maize. Oñate also found it necessary to return to the army, but went forward again into New Mexico and reached his advance party on June 12. "Ytinerario," June 12, 1598. Captain Velasco said that they were out of provisions while still fifty leagues from the first settlements. He further states that they were in such extremity of hunger that it was difficult for the governor to go ahead and bring back the maize. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco a S. M.*, March 22, 1601. But it should be observed that he wrote at a time when great efforts were being put forth to discredit the entire enterprise.

394. "Ytineraro," July 4, 1598; August 18, 1598.

could be observed September 8. It was finished in the early part of October.<sup>395</sup> The occasion was a festive one, and in their amusement the Spanish gallants demonstrated how much of the crusading spirit still coursed in their veins. To honor the event what else was appropriate but a sham battle, the soldiers being divided into opposing groups labeled Moors and Christians. The latter fought on horseback with lances and shields, while the former were on foot and used muskets.<sup>396</sup> The spectacle must indeed have been a novel one for the Indians.

A part of the ceremony of the day included the Indians who had been assembled from far and near for the event. Oñate met them in the kiva, accompanied by his officers and the missionaries, and there he expounded the same ideas as already presented to their brothers at Santo Domingo. They must swear obedience to Father Martínez and Oñate, the representatives of God and King Philip, and obey the new superiors. Thus their souls would be saved and earthly happiness insured. All agreed to these conditions with the customary ceremony.<sup>397</sup>

During the observances at San Juan Baptista the missionaries were assigned to their various fields of labor.<sup>398</sup> Fray Francisco de Zamora was to have the provinces of Picuries and Taos and Father San Miguel went to Pecos. Both had been accompanied to their pueblos by the father commissary. Father Rosas was established in the province of the Queres, called Hores, to minister to San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochití and others. Father Lugo was placed at Jemez, Father Corchado at Sia, with authority over the pueblos to the west, Acoma, Zuñi and Moqui, and Father Claros was sent to the province of the Tiguas. At San Juan there remained Father Cristóbal de Salazar, together

395. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215.

396. "Ytinerario," September 8, 1598.

397. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 108-117; "Ytinerario," September 9, 1598.

398. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1598; Account of how the padres of San Francisco took charge of the provinces discovered in New Mexico, September 8, 1598. Bolton MS.

with two lay brothers, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura and Fray Pedro. The father commissary also stayed at the capital when not with Oñate or on excursions to other pueblos.<sup>399</sup>

*Dissension in the Camp.* At no time had Oñate found it an easy task to maintain discipline among his adventurous followers, nor did his burden prove any lighter in New Mexico itself. In the latter part of August, 1598, a serious disturbance was discovered when forty-five captains and soldiers, about a third of the force, formed a plan of escaping to New Spain. Oñate reported that the rebellious soldiers and colonists were disgusted with the whole enterprise because they had not immediately found quantities of silver on the ground and because they had not been allowed to maltreat the natives or despoil them of their possessions. It was a bad situation. Two captains and a soldier, among them Captain Aguilar, said to be the guilty plotters, were arrested, but the army and missionaries were able to persuade Oñate that the matter should be dealt with leniently. They were accordingly released. To minimize the gravity of the affair it was said that they were not *trajitora*, but had merely been planning a plundering expedition.<sup>400</sup>

Just a few days after this episode another of the same kind was discovered. It is evident that the fires of dissatisfaction were still smoldering, for they now burst into flame once more. Four soldiers fled from the camp with a large number of horses in violation of numerous proclamations. Immediately Captains Villagrá and Márquez with some companions were sent in pursuit with orders to overtake and punish them.<sup>401</sup> This proved a difficult task, and it was not till two weeks later that two of the fleeing horse thieves were caught near Santa Bárbara.

399. "Ytinerario," September 15-23, 1598; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 96; Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 113-115.

400. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214; "Ytinerario," August 20-21, 1598; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 88.

401. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 88-89.

They were promptly hanged. The others narrowly escaped capture. The severe punishment inflicted on these men was one of the charges on which Oñate and the captains concerned were later brought to trial.<sup>402</sup> Having fulfilled their duty, Villagrá and his companions visited Santa Bárbara before setting out on the return journey. There they wrote to the viceroy of what had occurred.<sup>403</sup>

402. *Ibid.*, 89; *Testimonio de las sentencias*. . . . May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

403. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 89; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215.

## Chapter VII

## THE DESTRUCTION OF ACOMA

*Exploration Renewed; the Buffalo Plains.* The results of Oñate's preliminary exploration of New Mexico had netted small returns in comparison with the expectations of his gold-thirsty soldiers. But only a small region had been seen and preparations were soon renewed for more extended investigations. In the middle of September, 1598,<sup>404</sup> he sent the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar with a company of about sixty men to visit the region of the "cattle herds." Many rumors had been heard of these ever since the time when Cabeza de Vaca crossed the plains of Texas on his way to Culiacán.<sup>405</sup> When this force reached Pecos Father San Miguel and the lay brother Juan de Dios, whom they had been escorting, remained to take up their duties among the natives.<sup>406</sup>

A few leagues beyond the Pecos the Spaniards met four native vaqueros who were won over by presents of food and other gifts. They supplied Zaldívar with a guide to the buffalo plains, which they reached early in October. They were on the Canadian river, near the eastern border of New Mexico.<sup>407</sup>

404. September 15. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 223. The "Ytinerario" gives the date as September 16; see entry of that date.

405. These herds of cattle were of course the buffalo. Cabeza De Vaca has given us the first description of the American bison. See Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 1518-1561, 200, or Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 34.

406. Juan de Dios knew the language of the Pecos. He had learned it from Don Pedro Orez, a native, whom Castaño had probably taken to Mexico. "Ytinerario," July 25, 1598.

407. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 225, and 226 note 1.

*The Attempt to Corral the Buffalo.* The Spaniards were anxious to capture some of the sluggish looking cattle and very soon set to work to build a corral for that purpose.<sup>408</sup> When finished the wings of the enclosure were so long that it was estimated it would hold 10,000 buffalo. They felt certain of being able to capture the beasts, for these ran in a very peculiar manner, as though fettered, explained the chronicler. With the big corral completed the Spaniards sallied forth to round up the animals. A large herd was soon spied and here is what happened, in the words of the chronicler.

The cattle started very nicely towards the corral, but soon they turned back in a stampede towards the men, and, rushing through them in a mass, it was impossible to stop them. . . . For several days they tried a thousand ways of shutting them in or of surrounding them, but in no manner was it possible to do so. This was not due to fear, for they are remarkably savage and ferocious, so much so that they killed three of our horses and badly wounded forty.<sup>409</sup>

Zaldívar and his companions still refused to acknowledge defeat. If the full grown buffalo could not be captured they would be satisfied with taking the calves. The effort was made and some were captured, "but they became so enraged that out of the many which were being brought, some dragged by ropes and others upon the horses, not one got a league toward the camp, for they all died within about an hour." Balked in their attempt to capture the buffalo alive they finally contented themselves with killing some and taking a quantity of meat and suet back to the camp. They returned on November 8, 1598, a distance of seventy leagues, after having been gone nearly two months.<sup>410</sup>

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408. It was made of poplar trees. The work was begun on October 9, 1598, and took three days.

409. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228; cf. Villagrá *Historia*, I, 98.

410. "Ytinerario," November 8, 1598; Discovery of the buffalo in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228-230.

*Oñate Visits the Salines.* Meantime Oñate remained at San Juan long enough to supervise the preliminary work of establishing the town. After the church was finished and the missionaries had assumed their duty of Christianizing and civilizing the natives, he prepared to resume the exploration of the country in person.<sup>411</sup> Accordingly he left San Juan on October 6. The first place visited was the region of the saline pueblos, or Gallinas, twenty-seven leagues from San Juan, by the route followed via Santa Cruz, San Marcos and Tuerto.<sup>412</sup> Here he remained three days to visit the salines situated about five or six leagues to the east. These were very large, about seven or eight leagues in circumference, according to the governor's estimate, and of very good quality. From there he went to the Abó and the three Xumana pueblos. All rendered obedience to the king of Spain.<sup>413</sup>

*The Visit to Acoma and Zuñi.* Oñate now determined to go to the sea. Thus he began retracing his steps, going by way of Abó and Gallinas. He reached Puaray where Father Claros was posted, on October 21, where he stopped two days. Then he continued west on October 23,<sup>414</sup> and approached Acoma, which he reported to contain five hundred houses. It is a huge white rock, towering three hundred and fifty-seven feet toward the sky with the pueblo on top. Oñate realized it was almost impregnable, for the path to the top consisted of small holes hewn in the very rock.<sup>415</sup> If the Spaniards were astonished at the sight of the towering city the Acomas were no less impressed with the spectacle of the armored horses, which were put through a few special capers for their benefit. The governor was respectfully received. The natives provided food and water and rendered obedience to the king. But there was treach-

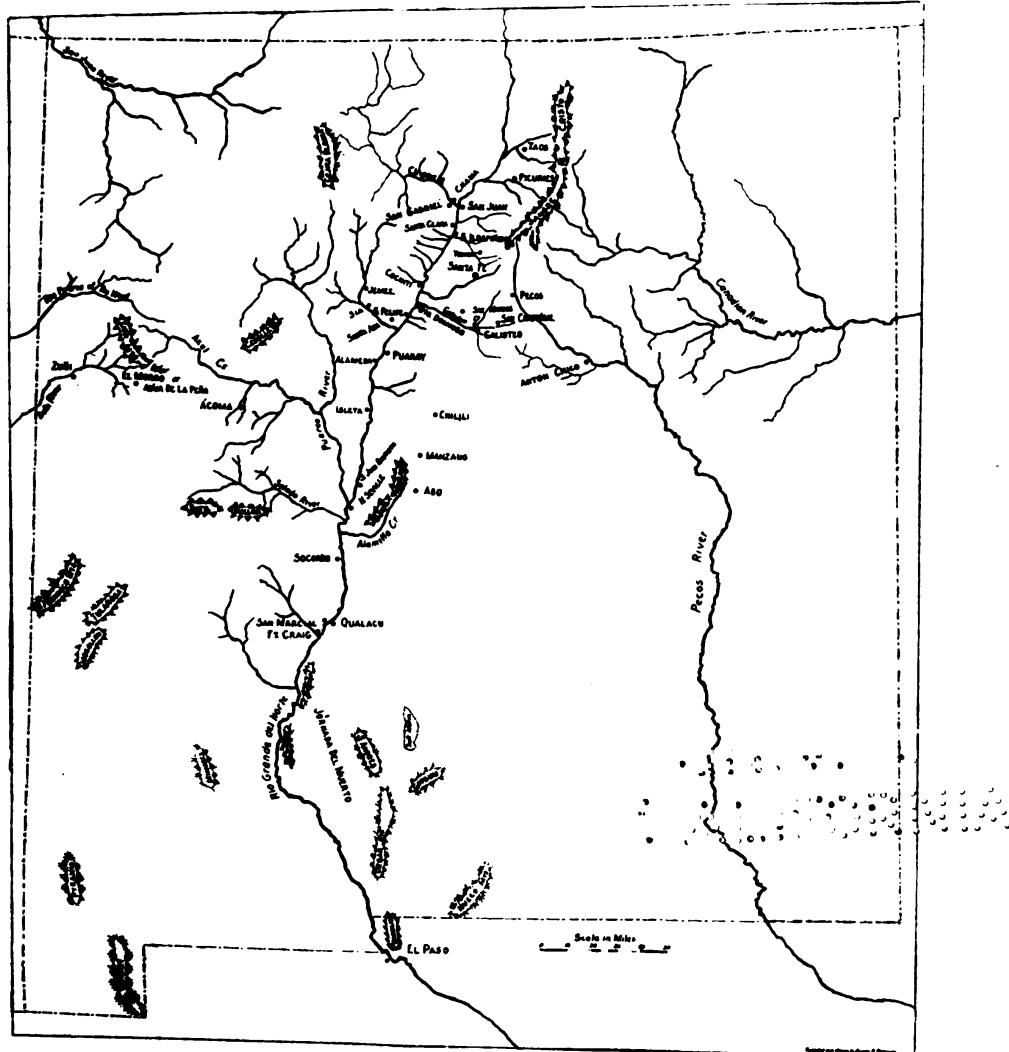
411. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215

412. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in *ibid.*, 233.

413. *Ibid.*, 234; "Ytinerario," October 6, 1598.

414. The "Ytinerario" states that Oñate left Puaray on October 23, and from another source, Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration* 233-234, we learn the exact route followed.

415. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 10.



**REFERENCE MAP OF EARLY NEW MEXICO**  
**Compiled by the Author**

ery afoot. When Oñate climbed to the top of the rock with a part of his men he was soon invited to see something remarkable guarded in an *estufa*. Unknown to him it contained twelve armed traitors. Peering into the dark chamber he declined with thanks, suggesting it was first necessary for him to arrange some matters below.<sup>416</sup>

After a day's rest at the rock of Acoma the next objective of Oñate and his men was Zuñi. On the way a severe snowstorm was encountered at Agua de la Peña. The horses stampeded and some were not recovered. On November 1 the first inhabited Zuñi pueblo was reached. They had passed the ruins of three on the way. Again the Indians met them with a liberal supply of food. They did the same at the next pueblo, Cíbola, where each house added a blanket to the other things given them.<sup>417</sup> Oñate found here the descendants of some Mexican Indians left by Coronado nearly sixty years before. All of these pueblos rendered obedience to his majesty with equally meaningless motions.<sup>418</sup>

Oñate's little force remained at Cíbola from November 3 to 8, 1598. Meanwhile four of the men, led by Captain Farfán, were sent to investigate the rumor of a saline said to be about nine leagues to the west. Only three days were consumed in this visit, when the soldiers returned with the report that it was the best salt spring in the world.<sup>419</sup>

*Villagrá's Escapade near Acoma.* In this same interval three soldiers had been sent out to round up the horses scattered during the snow storm at Agua de la Peña. Instead of finding the horses, they got a more valuable prize, Captain Villagrá. He was found about half dead, without horse or arms, and without having tasted food for several days.<sup>420</sup> He was returning from New Spain and

416. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 99-100. This plot was not learned of till much later.

417. The pueblo of Hawikuh; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 235.

418. *Ibid.*

419. *Ibid.* See also Account of the discovery of the salines of Zuñi, Bolton, Ms., and Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 102.

420. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 236.

had stopped at Puaray where he heard that Oñate had departed from there the day previously. So he immediately set out in pursuit, expecting to overtake him shortly. When he reached Acoma the actions of the Indians aroused his suspicions. Chief Zutacapan, a bitter opponent of the Spaniards, asked him to dismount, but he feigned haste with as cheerful a smile as he could muster, and quickly withdrew to a safe distance. Evening was approaching when this occurred and Villagrá hastened forward. Having gone some distance he lay down to rest, but arose in the middle of the night and continued the journey. It was snowing and bitterly cold. He did not go very far, for like a flash of lightning his progress was stopped. Horse and man had unsuspectingly plunged into a deep pit, carefully concealed in the road. It was the work of Zutacapan and his allies. The fall killed the horse. To save himself Villagrá set out on foot, without armor or weapons and with his boots on backward to confuse pursuers. For several days he groped about amid great suffering till he was at length rescued by Oñate's soldiers.<sup>421</sup>

*Oñate Visits Moqui.* When these scouting parties had rejoined the camp on November 8, Oñate set out to visit the Moqui pueblos.<sup>422</sup> Everywhere he was received as a friend, and all rendered the required obedience. Meantime the Spaniards had heard rumors of rich mines in the vicinity. To test these reports the governor delegated Farfán with eight companions.<sup>423</sup> They left November 17. While they were engaged in that exploration Oñate led the rest of his men back to Zuñi and there awaited the return of Farfán's

421. *Ibid.* Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 108-104. The "Ytinerario" states that it was Captain Márquez who set out from Puaray after Oñate, and that it was he who fell into the trap. This is clearly an error, for it calls him procurator-general. We know that Villagrá held this office. "Nombramiento de Procurador General del campo y Ejercito del Nuevo Mexico á favor del Captain Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá." *Ibid.*, II, 14-15. The same document in manuscript form is found in A. G. I., 58-6-36.

422. There were five pueblos in Oñate's time. Awatobi, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 560-561.

423. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 286-287. Villagrá names all but two of the Spaniards in the party. Besides Farfán and Quesada he mentions Don Juan Escarramad, Antonio Conde, Marcos García Damiero, and Hernán Martín, *Historia*, I, 102.

party.<sup>424</sup> This occurred on December 11, but only Farfán and Quesada came. They had left their seven companions in Moqui because the horses were worn out.<sup>425</sup>

*Farfán's Expedition into Arizona.* Farfán's expedition in search of mining prospects probably visited some point in Yavapai county, Arizona. Travelling westward through a desert and treeless area it came upon a northward flowing river, the Little Colorado, after having gone about nine leagues. The stream was of moderate width and carried considerable water. Its banks were lined with cottonwoods, but there was little pasture.

From there on identification of the route becomes more difficult. A march of three leagues brought the party to the slope of a mountain range; two leagues more to a grove of small pines and a very deep pool; and then the explorers proceeded for two leagues along the snow covered mountain range. Here they found several rancherías of Jumana Indians. Now they travelled along this mountain range for six leagues. The snow was knee deep. The region abounded in large pine trees. At the end of this trip they came to a snow-free valley, and after going another two leagues, approached the "Ranchería de los Cruzados."<sup>426</sup> The Indians had powdered ores of different colors. Continuing on their way three leagues they passed through a land of pine groves, "with the finest of pastures, many cattle, very good prickly pears, and many and large maguey patches, where they saw Castilian partridges, a great many deer, hares, and rabbits." Here was another ranchería on the bank of a river of "fair width and much water." They now proceeded four leagues to another and larger river "which flowed almost from the north." Cross-

424. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237. Oñate says they returned twenty-one days later, which would be December 8, but Farfán's testimony was given on the day of his return, December 11. Discovery of mines, in *ibid.*, 289-249.

425. Bandelier identified the "Cruzados" with the Yavapai. *Final Report*, I, 109. At the end of the nineteenth century they occupied the Rio Verde valley, but in earlier times went much farther west, over to the Colorado river, according to Hodge. *Handbook*, II, 994.

ing this stream they came to a much larger river two leagues distant which also came from the north. This stream they crossed and a league beyond reached the mines where the Indians got their ore. Numerous claims were staked out, and then the party returned and joined Oñate at Zuñi as mentioned.<sup>426</sup>

*Juan de Zaldívar at Ácoma.* Before setting out on this trip to Zuñi and Moqui Oñate had given orders that the *maestre de campo* Juan de Zaldívar, should reinforce him with thirty men in order to make the contemplated journey to the South Sea. Since he failed to come by the time of Farfán's return from Arizona, December 11, it was decided to go back to San Juan to celebrate Christmas. After the holiday season Oñate might then visit the sea with as large a force as was required. The return from Zuñi began December 12, the seven men at Moqui remaining there for the time being. The next day the governor was met by Captain Bernabé de las Casas with six companions at Agua de la Peña, the scene of former events in this narrative. He had come to warn Oñate and to report that the *maestre de campo* and twelve companions had been attacked and killed at Ácoma on their way to join him.<sup>427</sup>

The ill-fated Juan de Zaldívar did not depart from the camp at San Juan till November 18, 1598, ten days after his brother Vicente had returned from the buffalo hunt.<sup>428</sup> On the way he stopped at Ácoma in order to procure a sup-

426. Discovery of mines, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 239-249. The "Ytinerario" gives some details not mentioned in the above document. Professor Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (1916) locates the mines visited by Farfán on the Big Sandy or the Spenser. They were, he thinks, in either the Aquarius or Hualpai ranges. In his *Spanish Borderlands* (1921) he places them "in the region of Prescott." This is more nearly in accord with Bancroft's view, though he located them farther north, in the vicinity of Bill Williams Mountain.

427. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237-238; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in *ibid.*, 215; "Ytinerario," December 4 and 7, 1598.

428. *Proceso que se hizo contra los yndios del pueblo de Acoma por aver muerto alebosoamente á don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate maese de campo general y á dos capitanes y ocho soldados y dos mozos y otros delitos*, February 15, 1599. Cited hereafter as *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*. It is found in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

ply of blankets and provisions for the journey to the sea.<sup>429</sup> Meanwhile a significant change had taken place at the White Rock since last visited by the Spaniards. One party led by the belligerent Zutacapan was determined not to give the white men any more supplies. His son Zutancalpo and the aged Chumpo were bent on keeping the peace. Many angry speeches were made on both sides, which did not end till the two pacifists deserted the pueblo with their followers, leaving Zutacapan to wreak his vengeance on the Europeans.<sup>430</sup>

When Zaldívar arrived on December 1, there was nothing to indicate the treachery contemplated by the Áomas. Food was needed by the visitors, and they promised the natives hatchets and other tools in exchange for what they desired. But no sign of compliance appeared, and thus Captain Márquez was sent up to the pueblo with six soldiers. He secured some food, but not enough to satisfy the needs of the Spaniards. The Indians claimed that no corn was ground and that if they returned in the morning more would be available. Accordingly the Spaniards went into camp about two leagues from the pueblo near an arroyo where water and wood could be obtained. Returning on December 4, Zaldívar visited the pueblo with eighteen men. In their search for provisions they were led from place to place by the Indians, but very little flour was collected. By that time it was getting late and Captain Diego Nuñez de Chaves and six men were detailed to follow the Indians elsewhere. The Spaniards were thus divided. Moreover they were in a very narrow place near the cliffs, according to the survivors. It was at that moment that the Áomas, realizing the opportune moment for attack had come,

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429. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco a S. M.*, March 22, 1601; cf. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 112, 116.

430. *Ibid.*, 118-116. Villagrá gives many of the speeches of these Indian chiefs. Perhaps they are the fruit of the poet's imagination, or he may have learned of the arguments from the Indians after the battle, as Bancroft suggests.

raised a great cry and fell furiously on the foe. The battle was on.<sup>431</sup>

In the course of this struggle numerous feats of heroism were performed on both sides and Villagrá fairly revels in recounting these bloody tales.<sup>432</sup> In the end the Spaniards were defeated with heavy loss. Zaldívar fell at the hand of Zutacapan after a terrific struggle, if we may credit our poet. The situation of the others was soon desperate. But rather than be hacked to bits by the Indians they leaped off the cliff onto the rocks below. Seven did so and survived. We have their testimony taken under oath a few weeks later at San Juan.<sup>433</sup>

The catastrophe at Ácoma was a severe blow to the small Spanish force in New Mexico. Eleven soldiers and two servants had been killed. Three of the dead were officers: Juan de Zaldívar *maestre de campo*, Diego Nuñez de Chaves and Felipe de Escalante, captains. The others included the ensign Marcos Pereyra, Luís de Arauxo, Juan Camacho, Martín Ramírez, Juan de Segura, Pedro Robledo, Martín de Riveros, Sebastian Rodríguez, a mulatto and an

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431. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. Some accounts state that the Spaniards tried to take supplies by force. Such is the testimony of Herrera Orta and Juan de Ortega, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15. Herrera Orta testified that Father Escalona secretly called him to his cell and there gave him this information. Captain Velasco wrote that the fight commenced when the Indians refused to provide any blankets on the pretext that they had none. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The treasurer Alonso Sánchez says that in this second visit to procure food the Spaniards took some turkeys, whereupon a few of the natives, concealed on a height, killed a soldier named Bibero. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Rio de Losa*, February 28, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. This story is also told in the *Proceso*. Bibero is not given in the list of the dead in the "Ytinerario," but the name Riveros is found. They are doubtless identical, though in my list of Oñate's colonists compiled from the Salazar inspection no such name appears. See appendix A.

432. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 119-123.

433. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*. Those who jumped and lived to tell the story were: Gaspar López de Tabora, Juan Olague, Juan de León, Juan Velasquez de Cabanillas, Alonso Gonzalez, a half-breed, Antonio de Sarriñana, and Francisco Robledo. His brother Pedro was killed in making the leap. Villagrá says that five jumped, four of these landing safely. *Historia*, 124-125.

Indian.<sup>484</sup> The survivors immediately planned to warn their comrades of the rebellion, and the next day they sent the alguacil Tabora with three men to inform the governor. These, however, lost their way and soon returned. Then the ensign Bernabé de las Casas was dispatched on December 6, accompanied by six soldiers. As we have seen he was successful. Oñate was then on his way to Acoma, and they met one another about thirty miles west thereof on December 13, 1598.<sup>485</sup>

Though stricken by this sad news the governor did not neglect to provide for the future. The interpreter Thomas was sent back with a warning for the seven soldiers who had remained at Moqui to avoid Acoma and proceed directly to the capital. Captains Farfán and Quesada were sent on ahead to San Juan, while Oñate and the soldiers followed, arriving in seven days, December 21. As they approached the camp a small group, including Oñate's young son Don Cristóbal came out to meet them. The missionaries gave thanks to God with a *te deum* for their safe arrival.<sup>486</sup>

For Oñate this stroke of misfortune was doubly grievous. Not only was Juan de Zaldívar his nephew and intimate friend, but the loss of so many men with rebellion rife in the province meant a complete change of plans. Instead of being able to develop the mining prospects just discovered in Arizona or of making further explorations toward the South Sea, he had to concentrate his diminished forces to prosecute an unwished-for war.<sup>487</sup> Villagrá gives eloquent descriptions of the grief cast over the en-

484. "Ytinerario," December 4, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218; Oñate to Villagrá, January 11, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-86. Some of the names of the murdered men do not appear in the list of Oñate's colonists as given in the Salazar inspection documents. There is no Marcos Pereyra or Martín de Riveros. There is an Hernando de Segura, but no Juan. There appears to be no mistake in their names, and if that is true then they must have gone to New Mexico after the Salazar inspection.

485. "Ytinerario," December 5 and 7, 1598; Villagrá *Historia*, I, 125-126; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 238.

486. *Ibid.* Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 129-130; "Ytinerario," December 21, 1598.

487. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 216.

tire colony, how Oñate, Vicente de Zaldívar and the widows of the soldiers mourned their loss.<sup>438</sup>

*What Constitutes a Just War.* Without any loss of time Oñate now took steps to punish Ácoma. Court martial proceedings were instituted against the rebellious pueblo, under Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, appointed alcalde for that purpose. Before pronouncing sentence the governor asked the religious to give an opinion as to what constituted a just cause for making war; and, granted that the war was justified, what disposition the conqueror might make of the victims and their possessions.<sup>439</sup>

The reply of the missionaries left sufficient leeway for a war against Ácoma. The aggressor must have the sanction of a power which recognized no superior temporal authority. The immediate cause might be one of four: defending the innocent, restoring goods unjustly seized, punishing culprits who violated the laws, or the preservation of the peace, "which is the principal end for which war is ordained." The second query presented by Oñate was answered just as broadly. The conquered would be at the mercy of the conqueror. If the war was waged to defend the innocent, restore property or punish trespassers, the proper restitution should be made. But if the cause of the conflict was to preserve the peace all obstructions hindering its attainment might be destroyed. After peace had been gained, however, the war was no longer justified and must cease.<sup>440</sup>

*The Expedition against Acoma.* Judging by this criterion there was ample cause for war and Oñate proclaimed that it be carried on by fire and sword. His nephew and *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, brother of the

438. Villagrá *Historia*, I, 125-128.

439. "Caso que puso el Gobernador, para que sobre el, diessen su parecer los Padres Religiosos." Given in full in Villagrá, I, 131.

440. "Respuesta del Comisario, y Religiosos." Given in full in Villagrá, I, 131-132, and in the *Proceso*. "Y finalmente si la causa de la guerra es, la paz universal, o de su Reyno, y Republica, puede muy mas justamente hacer la sobredicha guerra, y destruir todos los incompatibles, que estorvaren la sobredicha paz, hasta conseguirla con efecto, . . ."

slain *maestre de campo*, was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the seventy men sent to avenge the dead.<sup>441</sup> With him went a council of war consisting of Alonso Sánchez, Zubia, Aguilar, Farfán, Márquez and Villagrá. Father Martínez also accompanied the expedition. The poet notes that mass was said and all the soldiers confessed before going into battle.<sup>442</sup>

The governor's instructions to Zaldívar ordered the punishment of those responsible for the slaying of the eleven Spaniards in the recent uprising. Full opportunity, however, should be given the Acomas to atone for their disobedience before the ordeal of arms was resorted to.<sup>443</sup> The guilty were to be surrendered, the bodies and arms of the dead returned, the sky pueblo given up, and a new home built on the plain, where only the missionaries should be allowed to come. Thus read the ultimatum of the Spaniards. If it should be spurned by the haughty foe then no mercy was to be shown. The punishment of Acoma was to be a horrible example of what disobedience to the new master meant.<sup>444</sup>

It was not till January 12, 1599, that the *sargento mayor* set out for Acoma at the head of his soldiers. Captain Villagrá was sent by way of Sia to secure provisions sufficient for a fortnight. When the Acomas saw the small force approach on January 21, they set up a derisive howl.<sup>445</sup> Surely the Spaniards were crazy to think of conquering the White Rock with such a mere handful of men. Already the Indians, men and women, could be seen dancing their defiant war dances. As the army came nearer arrows and insults rained down from the rock, but Zaldívar bore it all in silence. Calling the interpreter Thomas to his side he

441. "Ytinerario," January 12, 1599. The treasurer Sánchez says Zaldívar was accompanied by seventy-two soldiers. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez a Rodrigo de Río de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

442. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 134, 156; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599.

443. Zaldívar's instructions are given in full in the *Proceso*; cf. Villagrá, I, 133-134.

444. *Ibid.*, I, 141; "Ytinerario," January 12 and 21, 1599.

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required the Acomas to come down from their pueblo and account for the murders they had committed. Defiant boasts were the only answer to his summons. The natives had already gone so far that they could not retreat.<sup>44</sup>

*The Plan of Attack.* The towering pile on which the pueblo of Acoma was built consisted of two parts. Villagrá says the two portions of the mass were about three hundred steps apart, but that they were connected by a dangerous and narrow path of precipitous cliffs.<sup>45</sup> This situation did not escape the attention of the *sargento mayor* as he laid his plan of attack. A stratagem was planned. With the main part of the army he proposed to attack the pueblo in force on the side of the main approach. It was thus hoped to concentrate the enemy's strength at that place, and other points of the summit would be left undefended. Meanwhile twelve chosen men led by Zaldívar, unobserved by the enemy, would be posted in a concealed spot at another point at the base of the cliff with orders to seize the top when the opportunity offered. Zaldívar's council of war concurred in these plans, and then the Spanish camp rested in preparation for the morrow's struggle. The Acomas, on the contrary, spent the night in wild revelry.<sup>46</sup>

*The Attack.* The evidence introduced in the *Proceso*

445. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 141-142. The poet records that chief Zutacapan wanted to send away the women and children, but this counsel was not taken. And he devotes a whole canto to the efforts of Gicombo, a chief who had been absent when Zaldívar was slain, to give up the war. His rival Zutacapan, however, was able to completely discomfit the pacifists. *Ibid.*, 185-189.

446. "Y assi marchando en orden nos llegamos,  
Al poderoso fuerte, el qual constaua,  
De dos grandes peñoles lebantados,  
Mas de trecientos passos deuididos,  
Los terribles assientos no domadoe,  
Y estaua un passaman del uno al otro,  
De riscos tan soberuios que ygualauan,  
Con las disformes cumbres nunca vistas." *Ibid.*, 141.

Bancroft doubted the identity of the present pueblo of Acoma with that existing in Oñate's time, but his view has not been accepted by others. See his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 125 note 24.

447. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 145-149; see also the *Proceso*.

shows that the Indians began the attack by killing two horses while they were being watered. It was evident to all that the Acomas were not only irreconcilable but determined to fight. From that time on there was no hesitation in the Spanish program. On the afternoon of January 22, their plans had all been formulated and the feigned attack was made about three o'clock.<sup>48</sup> When the natives saw what appeared to be the entire Spanish force attacking at one point the warriors rushed to meet the onslaught. At once Zaldívar and his squad of eleven scaled the deserted side of the peñol and gained a foothold on the summit near the houses of the pueblo. Here they were halted, however, before it was possible to gain the main portion of the rock, but they were able to hold the point the rest of that afternoon and during the night. To watch the crag till morning a guard was posted and placed in charge of Captain Pablo de Aguilar and others.<sup>49</sup>

The point they held was separated from the rock on which the Indians were fighting by two deep gorges. That night a beam was prepared to be used in bridging these spaces, and the next morning it was carried to the top. But the natives had also been active. They were now led by chief Gicombo who had a surprise in store for the Spaniards. Nor far from the two gorges he had stationed a great many warriors entirely hidden from view. When Zaldívar's men should attempt to cross the narrow passageway the concealed fighters would emerge from the ambuscade and overcome the foe.<sup>50</sup>

448. According to the "Ytinerario" and the *Proceso* it was on Friday, January 22. Alonso Sánchez reported that it occurred on Thursday afternoon the 21. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Rio de Losa*, February 28, 1599. Bancroft thought that an error had crept into the "Ytinerario" and that the battle began on Friday morning. There seems to be no reason for accepting this change. See *Arizona and New Mexico*, 144, 145 note 24.

449. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 149-150. The names of the twelve are recorded by Villagrá. Vicente de Zaidívar, León de Isasti, Marcos Cortés, Lorenzo de Munuera, Antonio Hernández, Juan Velarde, Cristóbal Sánchez, Cristóbal López, Hernán Martín, Francisco Hernández Cordero, Pablo de Aguilar, and Villagrá.

450. Villagrá is our sole authority for this story. *Historia*, I. 152.

*Villagrá's Leap.* Meantime the soldiers ascended the cliff after the father-commissary had administered the sacrament. As they scanned the pueblo it appeared to be deserted, and without further consideration thirteen men crossed the two gorges in the passageway by means of the beam and occupied the other side. Swarming from their place of concealment the natives suddenly attacked the small group. The men were in a serious predicament. It was impossible to succor them since they had the beam. At that point Villagrá, if we may believe the story, undertook to rescue the others from their peril. Throwing aside his shield he prepared to jump across the first abyss, though his friends feared he would be dashed to bits. But he succeeded. Then he placed the plank over the gorge and others were able to reinforce the few who were so sorely pressed.<sup>451</sup>

*The Destruction of Acoma.* Throughout the second day of the battle the Acomas were forced back step by step with terrific slaughter. This was partly due to the fact that Zaldívar succeeded in getting two pieces of artillery up the rock and bringing these into action.<sup>452</sup> At four o'clock in the afternoon the Spaniards ceased fighting in order to give the natives an opportunity to surrender. But they were resolute, and the bloodshed was renewed and continued for another hour or so, and then the Acomas sued for peace.<sup>453</sup> Fate was obviously against them, for they saw an apparition of Saint James or Saint Paul riding a white horse and using a terrible sword fighting for the Christians.<sup>454</sup>

The number of casualties in the Acoma camp seems to have been between six and eight hundred.<sup>455</sup> About seventy or eighty warriors were captured, in addition to about

451. *Ibid.*, 156-157.

452. "Ytinerario," January 23, 1599.

453. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

454. "Ytinerario," January 28, 1599; Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 178; *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Rio de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

455. Captain Velasco gives the dead as 600, while Alonso Sánchez says that 800 were killed. *Ibid.*, and *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

five hundred women and children.<sup>456</sup> The Spanish force seems to have suffered very little. "It was miraculous that so great a number of the enemy were killed without the loss of any of ours," says the "Ytinerario." When evening came Acoma was ready to surrender, but Zaldívar waited till the following morning before taking possession of the pueblo.<sup>457</sup>

Villagrá informs us that at the end of the day's fighting Zutacapan asked for Zaldívar's terms of peace. But the latter still insisted on the surrender of those responsible for the death of the Spaniards, of whom Zutacapan was the leader, and the terms were refused.<sup>458</sup> Quite another story is told by Captain Don Luís de Velasco, one of Oñate's critics. He says that the Indians surrendered after the war had lasted some time, and that they then gave corn, blankets and turkeys as had been demanded by the Spaniards they had slain. But the *sargento mayor* would not accept their offering, and confined many of the natives in the *estufas* as prisoners. From there they were taken out one by one, murdered, and thrown over the edge of the rock, a negro and some soldiers acting as the butchering squad.<sup>459</sup> These events took place on the third day of hostilities, January 24.<sup>460</sup>

This is practically the story as given in the *Proceso*. From it we learn that Zaldívar would not now accept the gifts of the natives, for he had come to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards. Accordingly he seized some of the Acomas and confined them in the *estufas* where they fortified themselves and defied the conqueror once more!

456. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

457. *Ibid.* "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599; Villagrá devotes the last four cantos of his poem to the final stages of the battle. It is a gory legend in which we learn of the death of many of the prominent Acoma chieftains. *Historia*, I, 159-181.

458. *Ibid.*, 161-162.

459. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601; testimony of Herrera Orta in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601.

460. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599. Some of the sources limit the battle to two days, but this evidently does not include the killing and burning which took place on the 24th.

But the god of war was not thus to be deprived of his spoils. When the Spaniards saw what had happened they set fire to the pueblo, as Oñate had authorized. The victims tried to escape through the underground passages, but were not able to get away.<sup>461</sup> Some killed one another rather than fall into the hands of the enemy;<sup>462</sup> others surrendered, or were destroyed by fire or by the sword. The pueblo of Acoma was completely laid waste and burned. As already indicated about five or six hundred remained to be carried into captivity.<sup>463</sup>

*Punishment of the Acomas.* The captives taken at Acoma were brought to trial at the pueblo of Santo Domingo early in February, 1599, where Governor Oñate heard the evidence presented for and against them. They were accused of killing eleven Spaniards and two servants and of failure to submit peacefully when Vicente de Zaldívar came to punish them. Some of the natives who appeared to testify at the trial pleaded absence from the pueblo at the time the murders were committed. They were away tilling the fields. Others cast the blame on the Spaniards for starting the trouble. As for their resistance to Vicente de Zaldívar, they had by that time agreed to oppose the Spaniards.<sup>464</sup>

Sentence was pronounced on February 12, 1599. Oñate ordered that all males over twenty-five years of age be condemned to have one foot cut off and to give twenty years of personal service. The men between twelve and twenty-five years escaped with twenty years of service.

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461. *Ibid.*, and *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

462. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

463. Villagrá, *Historia*, I, 177; *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*. The statements we have of the population of Acoma in 1598 are probably exaggerated. Oñate put it at 8000. See his letter to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218. Captain Velasco says over 600 were killed and 600 more taken captive. Sánchez says 800 were killed, 500 women and children captured and 80 punished. See Velasco's letter to the king, March 22, 1601, and that of Sánchez to Rodrigo del Rio, February 28, 1599. Either of these totals are more reliable than the figures Oñate and others sent to Spain. They exaggerated the numbers in order to convince the king of the importance of the province. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 824-5; and Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 185-136.

464. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

All the women above twelve years of age were likewise doomed to twenty years of servitude. Two Moqui natives captured at Acoma were condemned to lose the right hand and to be sent home as a warning to others. The boys and girls below twelve years escaped punishment, but they were to be subject to the Spaniards, the girls being made the special charges of Father Martinez and the boys of Vicente de Zaldívar. The sentence was executed as decreed.<sup>465</sup> "Fue gran lastima," says the indignant Captain Velasco.

With the infliction of this spectacular and exemplary punishment the province of New Mexico was cowed into obedience. No other revolt of equal significance occurred till the pueblo revolt of 1680. The natives were beginning to feel the weight of the hand of their new master.

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465. *Ibid.* Captain Velasco states that twenty-four were mutilated by having a foot cut off. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco a S. M.*, March 22, 1601

## Chapter VIII

## REINFORCEMENTS; AND THE EXPEDITION TO QUIVIRA

*Oñate Reports to the Viceroy.* Shortly after the Acoma revolt had been quelled Oñate gave an interesting if exaggerated report on New Mexico, dated March 2, 1599. In glowing terms he painted the wonders of the land, emphasizing particularly the richness of certain unexplored regions regarding which reports had been received from the natives. So remarkable was this new possession that "none other held by his Majesty in these Indies excels it," and the governor claimed to be judging solely by what he had seen and learned from reliable reports. The vast settlements in the west, in Arizona, and the certainty of finding great wealth in pearls in the South Sea, were described. He told of a great pueblo in the buffalo country nine leagues in length and two in width which had been visited by an Indian in his camp. This native, Jusepe, had been with Humaña's fatal party, but managed to escape and make his way back to New Mexico where he regaled Oñate with wonderful accounts of the country to the east.<sup>466</sup>

*His Request for Aid.* In order to explore and conquer these new regions Oñate needed more soldiers. That was his most pressing need. He appealed to the viceroy, sending several agents to represent him in Mexico. Father Martínez, "the most meritorious person with whom I have had any dealings," was sent to tell of the opportunity for saving souls and to secure more friars for that purpose. He was accompanied by Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, who, however, died on the way.<sup>467</sup> Perhaps Father Vergara

466. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212-222. See also *Relación que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umaña y Leyba del Nuevo México*, MS in Bolton collection.

467. Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 673.

accompanied them.<sup>468</sup> To tell of the wealth of the province in material things, there were delegated among others Villagrá, captain and procurator-general of the expedition, Farfán captain of the guard, and Juan Pinero, also captain.<sup>469</sup> Villagrá was put in command of the party and authorized to enlist troops. On reaching New Spain he would be subordinate to Juan Guerra de Resa, whom Oñate had named lieutenant-governor and captain-general for this second expedition. Before attempting to enlist troops, Villagrá was instructed to secure the viceroy's sanction,<sup>470</sup> in accordance with the modification which had been made in the contract.<sup>471</sup>

Of especial interest, in view of later developments, is a document drawn up in the capital two days after Oñate had written his letter of March 2. It was a vote of confidence in the governor by the captains and soldiers of the army as well as an appeal for aid. Nineteen officials signed the paper. Besides vouching for Oñate "as one of the most faithful and useful servants of the many your majesty has" and comparing him with the Duke of Alva and the Marquis of the Valley<sup>472</sup> among others, they suggested that the king ought to know of their own noble sacrifices. Their fortunes had been spent, their lives had frequently been endangered in the royal service, and their wives and children had shared these adventures.<sup>473</sup>

*News from Oñate Reaches Mexico.* It required a long time before these reports on New Mexico reached the viceroy or the king. On June 8, 1599, the Count of Monte-

468. *Ibid.*, I, 672. Torquemada is the only source which includes his name. Two contemporary documents fail to make any mention of him. They are, Alonso Sánchez to Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, February 28, 1599; and Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, *op. cit.*, 221-222.

469. *Ibid.*

470. Order of Don Juan de Oñate, Santo Domingo, March 16, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

471. Monterey had stipulated that if reinforcements were needed by Oñate, special permission must be sought from the viceroy. See chapter II of this study.

472. Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico.

473. *Carta de los oficiales mayores y menores del ejercito real del Nuevo Mexico*, March 4, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-8/22. Among the papers sent to Mexico at this time

rey reported that news from Oñate was still lacking.<sup>474</sup> Immediately after this was written, however, word did come, for three days later Santiago del Riego wrote that good news had been received,<sup>475</sup> and soon the viceroy dispatched a like account inclosing Oñate's letters.<sup>476</sup>

Monterey's reports on Oñate's success in New Mexico were all complimentary at this time. He went so far as to defend him from the responsibility for the cruel punishment of the Acoma Indians by pointing out that Oñate was not present. That episode was considered of such importance in Mexico that the audiencia took the matter under advisement. But it decided to drop the subject in order not to discourage the whole New Mexico enterprise which appeared so full of promise at that moment.<sup>477</sup>

When the Council of the Indies finally received a full account of these early experiences of the army in New Mexico approximately a year had elapsed, a good example of how difficult it was to administer a province so far away. The Council read the reports with much gratification and informed the king that the conquest had begun favorably.<sup>478</sup> Monterey was accordingly instructed to encourage Oñate and to assist him as his discovery seemed to be important.<sup>479</sup>

*Monterey Orders Reinforcements.* Meanwhile the representatives Oñate sent to Mexico won some measure of success. They indicated that the province was a rich possession, and that smoothed their way. The viceroy granted

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was a brief optimistic note to the viceroy, asking for half a dozen royal brands for marking the silver from New Mexico. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Conde de Monterey*, March 5, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

474. *Monterey á S. M.*, June 8, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. Cf. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 9, 1599, A. G. I., 58-5-12. Riego had always been interested in the expedition and was not pleased with Oñate's failure to keep his friends informed of his success in New Mexico.

475. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 11, 1599, A. G. I. 1-1-3/22.

476. *El Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, June 22, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. The viceroy stated that he was not forwarding all of Oñate's reports then as they were too voluminous for copies to be made before the sailing of the fleet. What they dealt with is not indicated.

477. *Monterey á S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

478. *El Consejo de Indias*, April 8, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

479. This was May 31, 1600. See "Discurso y Proposición," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 88.

them permission to recruit reinforcements.<sup>480</sup> This was, in fact, necessary either to maintain the little settlement at San Juan or to extend the territory already conquered.<sup>481</sup> Monterey commissioned a number of captains for this purpose, each of whom was authorized to enlist a following. Villagrá was one of these, and by September, 1599, was busy enlisting men.<sup>482</sup>

The fact that additional soldiers were going to New Mexico required an official inspection. For this reason Monterey, on October 1, 1599, appointed Captain Juan de Gordejuela to inspect the reinforcements at Santa Bárbara. He was to make a report before a notary of all who went on the expedition and of everything taken along.<sup>483</sup> As commissary of this relief force the viceroy selected Captain Juan de Sotelo y Cisneros, who had served the king in a military capacity in many countries. He was to follow the troops to Santa Bárbara in order to make arrangements for securing supplies for men and beasts while on the journey. It was his duty, moreover, to see that no offenses against the Indians were committed. If such did occur he had full power to mete out the punishment required. At Santa Bárbara he was to assist Captain Gordejuela in carrying out the inspection.<sup>484</sup>

*Immediate Succor Sent North.* The captains who were enlisting troops in the fall of 1599, found that their work progressed slowly. At the same time the viceroy seemed anxious that their departure should take place by November, 1599, though he also noted that they might await further news from Oñate. That is probably what happened,

480. Before August 20, 1599. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

481. *Santiago del Riego d S. M.*, September 28, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

482. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599; certification of the notary, September 27, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

483. *El Conde de Monterey*, October 1, 1599, in *Muestra cala y cata que tomaron Juan de Gordejuela y Juan de Sotelo de la gente, armas y municiones que llevó Juan de Oñate á las minas de San Bartolomé*, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter referred to as *Gordejuela visita*.

484. *El Conde de Monterey*, December 30, 1599, in *ibid.*

for the assembly at Santa Bárbara of all those who were expected did not take place till August, 1600.<sup>485</sup> The missionaries were chosen in March of the same year, and probably departed about the same time.<sup>486</sup> Juan Guerra, however, did not reach Santa Bárbara till the early part of August.<sup>487</sup>

At that time a part of the soldiers had already been sent to New Mexico. The reason for this was that an Indian, called Lorenzo, had fled from Oñate's camp and reached San Bartolomé, where notice of his arrival came to the attention of Captain Gordejuela. Lorenzo told of the great need among Oñate's followers for food and cattle and how anxiously they were awaiting relief.<sup>488</sup> In view of the delay in the assembly of the soldiers Gordejuela determined to send a small party forward at once. Seven men were chosen to make up this advance group, a man named Robledo acting as leader.<sup>489</sup> All of them had been enlisted by Juan Guerra. He furnished the food-supplies, horses, arms, powder, and other things which they brought. Their departure took place on June 2, 1600. Father Fray Alonso de la Oliva accompanied them as he was very anxious to reach New Mexico.<sup>490</sup>

*Aid Furnished by Juan Guerra.* The reinforcements thus being assembled at Santa Bárbara were practically all provided at the expense of Juan Guerra de Resa. The Salazar inspection had shown that Oñate was far short of his obligations in some respects. Those deficiencies had to be made up, and Juan Guerra had agreed to foot the bill whenever the viceroy ordered the reinforcements sent.<sup>491</sup>

485. *Monterey a S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 58-8-18.

486. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo México y diligencias para que se levante el campo*, San Gabriel, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

487. Order of Sotelo y Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

488. Certification of Juan de Gordejuela, September 5, in *ibid.*

489. Robledo's companions were: Juan Hurtado, Simón García, Alvaro García, Juan Gregorio, Pedro Pérez, and Juan Fernández.

490. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, September 5, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

491. See chapter V of this study, 89.

Nearly every article now provided, aside from the personal possessions of the soldiers, was thus paid for by the rich lieutenant-governor.<sup>492</sup> It cost him over one hundred thousand pesos, if we may believe Luís Nuñez Pérez, and Don Cristóbal de Oñate something less than that.<sup>493</sup>

When the required number of soldiers at length reached Santa Bárbara and the necessary cattle and supplies had been purchased the inspection was soon arranged. Juan Guerra requested the inspectors to make a separate inventory of the things supplied by him and to place an account of it at the head of their report.<sup>494</sup> To this no objections were raised and the request was complied with.<sup>495</sup>

*The Inspection.* The inspection began on August 23 when Juan Guerra presented a detailed list of the things he had furnished.<sup>496</sup> Carts, oxen, powder, artillery, muskets, blankets, various kinds of cloth including both Dutch and Rouen linen, shoes of many varieties, wine, and innumerable other items all duly attested, made up his portion of the succor being sent to Oñate.<sup>497</sup> The inspection of these things occupied two days. Then on the 25th it was decreed that other captains and soldiers must present themselves with their goods on that or the following day. The order was publicly proclaimed.<sup>498</sup> Captain Bernabé de las Casas was the first to observe the order. The others followed. Altogether there were eleven captains in the force, though they were not all leaders of companies. Bernabé de las Casas, Villagrá, and Ortega appear to have had such commands. Eight bore the rank of ensign, and five were sergeants. The soldiers numbered forty-eight, making a total

492. The entire record of the inspection reveals this fact. See also the certification of thirteen captains and soldiers, September 1, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

493. *Traslado de un capítulo de carta de Luís Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

494. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

495. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *ibid*.

496. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 23, 1600, in *ibid*.

497. *Memoria de las cosas, armas, vinos, ropa de toda suerte y conservas y otras cosas que Juan Guerra de Resa envía al socorro y provincias de la Nueva Mexico*, August 23 and 24, 1600, in *ibid*.

498. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 25, 1600, in *ibid*.

of seventy-three in the entire expedition.<sup>499</sup> It should, however, be remembered that seven men with Father Oliva had preceded the main force to New Mexico by three months.<sup>500</sup>

Finally everything seemed ready for the march and the commissaries decreed that the departure for New Mexico should take place August 30. But it was evidently impossible for all to be ready at the stated time, and on September 2 the order was repeated, requiring all to leave that same day. Guerra, nevertheless, asked for a little more time and presented another list of materials to be taken to New Mexico, and it was accepted. On September 4, two soldiers straggled into Santa Bárbara, too late for the inspection. They were, however, allowed to join the army. On that same day the inspectors ordered every captain and soldier to depart at once under severe penalties, and on the next day the last soldiers left the city.<sup>501</sup> The lists were closed, and the San Bartolomé valley was left to relapse into its former humdrum existence.

*Oñate's Activity in the Interim.* On Christmas eve, 1600, the relief expedition reached Oñate's camp at San Gabriel, where it was received with great rejoicing. The new band of Franciscans, of which Father Fray Juan de Escalona was apostolic-commissary, accompanied it.<sup>502</sup> The names of these missionaries are not known with certainty, but from the documents dealing with the desertion of the colony from San Gabriel in 1601, I have compiled a list of those who probably came with Father Escalona. They are: Fray Lope Izquierdo, Fray Gaston de Peralta, Fray Damian

499. At the final review which was held on August 28-30, 1600, there were only seventy-one men, including Juan Guerra. This is the number given in the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento." See *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 198. However, two men arrived on September 4, and they were allowed to enroll with the others, thus bringing the number up to seventy-three.

500. See above, 127-128.

501. Transactions of August 29 to September 5, 1600, in *Cordejuela visita*.

502. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*; and *Relación verdadera sacada de las cartas, testimonios y recaudas que Don Juan de Oñate . . . envia con carta de veinte y dos de marzo desde año de mil seiscientos uno á sus hermanos y deudos*. MS in Bolton collection.

Escudero, Fray Luis Maironos, Fray Francisco de Velasco, and Fray Alonso de la Oliva.

Two years had now passed since the death of Juan de Zaldívar and his companions at Ácoma. What had the governor done in the long interval? As we have seen, Villagrá had soon been sent to Mexico for reinforcements. Without these it was impossible to undertake any extensive exploration or conquest due to the weakness of his force. But aside from that we know very little of what transpired in those long months of waiting. It is reported, for instance, by two Indians who fled from New Mexico June 29, 1600, that the governor and all the people were *muy buena*, and that the natives were peaceful, many of whom had already accepted Christianity. They also related how on St. John's day<sup>503</sup> a celebration was held in honor of a great discovery of mines.<sup>504</sup> This story is substantiated by two other sources which state that silver veins had been discovered at San Marcos and elsewhere.<sup>505</sup> This indicates that Oñate was not entirely idle, but major operations, on the whole, had to be postponed.

*Zaldívar's Expedition Toward the South Sea 1599.* Nevertheless one extensive expedition toward the South Sea was attempted before the coming of the relief force. No diary or other full account of such an exploration has yet been found, but we have other testimony which indicates something of what happened. Ever since Farfán's expedition into the present Arizona in December, 1598, reports of the sea were current in New Mexico. About the middle of the following year<sup>506</sup> Vicente de Zaldívar was sent with

503. May 6.

504. *Traslado de un capítulo de carta de Luis Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

505. Testimony of Brondate and Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. San Marcos was six leagues from San Gabriel, according to these witnesses. It was near Callaite. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 93.

506. *Relación verdadera*; Luis Nuñez Pérez in a letter to the king reported that Zaldívar had gone to explore the South Sea. *Traslado de un capítulo de carta de Luis Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

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a party of twenty-five or thirty men to verify these rumors. On the way he passed near the province of the Jumanos,<sup>507</sup> where he tried to secure some provisions. But instead of giving food the natives brought him stones. Such impudence could not go unpunished, and preparations were made to correct it.

With a force of fifty men Oñate went to the Jumano country, both to demand tribute and to punish those who had failed to respond to Zaldívar's request. When he asked for *mantas*, about a dozen were provided. The Jumanos claimed no more could be spared. Then Oñate proceeded to punish the disobedient. A part of the pueblo was burned "so tactfully and gently . . . that the fire would cause no unnecessary damage beyond that which was intended," half a dozen natives were killed by a volley from the muskets, and two of the most belligerent Jumanos were hanged. On top of this it was discovered that the interpreter was not rendering a faithful account of what was told him so he also was hanged.<sup>508</sup> With this chastisement the Jumanos were allowed to escape on that occasion.

Meanwhile Zaldívar passed on toward the South Sea. For about three months the party wandered on in a futile attempt to reach the coast, going one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues in their wanderings. Numerous Indian settlements were visited, but there were no pueblos, nothing but rancherías. Like Espejo he found some Indians who had crosses and who used them like Catholics.<sup>509</sup> But he finally had to return because of the mountainous

507. Expeditions going westward by way of Acoma and Zuñi from San Juan went south to Isleta to go through the pass. Véancourt, *Chrónica*, IV, 99. Moreover we know that in Oñate's time there were some Jumano villages near the salines, east of the Rio Grande. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 636. It must have been here that provisions were sought by Zaldívar and Oñate.

508. Such is the story as gleaned from the *Relación verdadera*, and the testimony of Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. Captain Velasco also tells of a pueblo which refused to give supplies. He says that Oñate killed the Indian who gave the answer of refusal and then burned part of the village. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

509. *Relación verdadera*; testimony of Captain Espinosa, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*; cf. the account of Espejo's expedition in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 187.

country and hostile Indians at a point only three days' march from the sea, according to the information gathered.<sup>510</sup>

After this unsuccessful expedition no further attempts were made in that direction for some years. Not enough men could be spared for the march. After the coming of the reinforcements, however, Oñate prepared to carry it out. The plans were made, men, munitions, and carts outfitted, and the start set for April, 1601.<sup>511</sup> For some reason which is not known Oñate changed his mind after having held an assembly of the entire army, and went east instead. Perhaps Jusepe's glowing accounts of the country to the east seemed to offer better prospects than the discovery of the South Sea, which Zaldívar had already attempted.

*Foraging Excursions.* While Oñate thus had big plans which, if successful, would have swept away all petty opposition, it was also necessary to care for the daily needs of starving colonists. If enormous wealth should be discovered some oppression of the Indians would naturally be overlooked, but failing in that, severe criticism was certain to be heaped upon him, and that is practically what happened. In the early days of the conquest food was obtained when the frightened Indians fled from their pueblos, giving the Spaniards a free chance to take all the maize desired.<sup>512</sup> Getting provisions in that way became more and more difficult, however, because of the hostility aroused. Soon the hidalgos had to raise wheat and other products, which they did, but clearly only in small quantities, as starvation seemed to be ever a near visitor. To keep the wolf away from the door periodic foraging excursions were therefore undertaken, compelling the In-

510. *Relación verdadera*; see also "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde; cf. the account of Espejo's expedition in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 187.

511. *Relación verdadera*.

512. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601; "Ytinerario," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 250, 252.

dians to furnish maize and other food which they had stored up for their own use. The clamor and opposition of the natives on such occasions was extremely violent,<sup>513</sup> but even the missionaries admitted that it was necessary. The Indians might be dying of starvation, but the Spaniards had to live.<sup>514</sup>

*Murder of Aguilar and Sosa.* As sustained prospecting failed to disclose riches in New Mexico the discontent of the soldiers and colonists steadily increased. Poverty, starvation, and rags, without compensation of any kind, shook their confidence in the province and in their leader, and the number of those who wanted to go back grew proportionally. This was fatal to Oñate's hopes and could not be tolerated for a moment. For that reason dissatisfaction rose with every new act of repression. Immediately after the colonists reached New Mexico outbreaks had occurred among them. On one of these occasions Villagrá headed a party which captured and hanged two deserters.<sup>515</sup> Equally severe penalties were inflicted on some others, as when Captain Pablo de Aguilar was dastardly killed, and at Oñate's instigation according to Captain Velasco. The reasons for this brutal deed are obscure,<sup>516</sup> but such action, coupled with the disappointment over the sterility of the land, made the governor an unpopular man.

513. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. It is stated that by the early part of 1601 the Spaniards had secured as tribute two thousand *mantas* and five hundred tanned buckskins. As to the quantity of maize and beans received the amounts differ, one placing it at five or six thousand and another at two thousand *fanegas*. (The *fanega* measures one and six tenths bushels). Testimony of Brondate and Espinosa, in *Copia de un información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

514. Testimony of Fray Francisco de San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

515. See chapter VI of this study, 104-105.

516. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601, Oñate had experienced difficulty with Captain Aguilar several times. It was he who entered the first pueblos against express orders. He was one of the forty-five who planned to desert just after the establishment of the capital. On both occasions he had been saved by the entreaties of the colony. There is no explanation of what he had done to warrant the attack described by Velasco, but he was apparently an insubordinate character who had to be put out of the way. Velasco's story of his death is as follows. One day the governor sent for Aguilar, greeted him cheerfully, and asked

A similar thing happened when Captain Alonso de Sosa Albornoz asked leave to return to New Spain with his family. He was already ruined in fortune, he stated, and was now unable to support his family. Seemingly his request was granted.<sup>517</sup> Then an order was issued by the governor requiring all captains and soldiers to round up the horses at a certain time. Captain Sosa accompanied the others, but was attacked and killed by a squad of soldiers headed by Zaldívar, and his body covered so that it should not be found. This group of men had been concealed in a ravine about two leagues from San Gabriel. It was drastic action on the part of the governor if the story is true, but it probably accomplished the purpose intended, as no further requests for going to New Spain were heard. However it left the capital apprehensive and suspicious. As Captain Velasco says all were downcast and went about expecting death at any moment. The colonists could not comprehend how the desire to return to Mexico in order to register their complaints with the viceroy could be called treason and punishable by death.<sup>518</sup>

It seems thus that Oñate was becoming willful and headstrong. Perhaps that was necessary to control his turbulent followers. For example, when the auditor-general, the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta, who had come with the relief expedition in 1600,<sup>519</sup> arrived in San Gabriel, he was not allowed to exercise the duties of his office. Nor was this all. It was said that Oñate permitted his nephew to call him "majesty" in the presence of the religious and

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him to enter a certain room, where he had already posted a negro and an Indian armed with butcher knives, and other servants armed with short swords. On entering the place "and in the presence of myself and many others who were there they seized his arms. The said governor gave him a push, causing him to stumble, and there they stabbed him. The governor himself ran a sword through his body, although the poor man cried out, saying he was married and asking confession as he was a sinner."

517. Oñate promised Sosa that within eight days he would be given permission to return with all his relatives. In that interval an *auto* was issued that he should be prepared to leave whenever it was ordered. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. Though Velasco is our only authority for these events, there is clearly some foundation for them as Oñate was convicted of these charges. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

others. "If some of these things could only come to the attention of the viceroy of New Spain," wrote Velasco, "he would be moved by compassion and grief to redeem our oppression." Velasco sent that letter secretly and at great personal danger,<sup>520</sup> and though it bore no immediate result it was of significance in Oñate's trial.

*The Expedition to Quivira.* The settlement at San Gabriel was thus teeming with discontent long before the expedition to the east was undertaken. But though Oñate probably realized the dissatisfaction among his settlers he went on with the preparations to visit Quivira, hoping that there would be found the wealth which New Mexico had thus far failed to produce. Reports of a great province to the east had been given by the Indians, and particularly by Jusepe, the Indian who had been with Humaña. Oñate was determined to investigate.

Between seventy and a hundred men<sup>521</sup> and a large baggage train made up the expedition which began its long journey on June 23, 1601. Gathering his men at Galisteo four days later Oñate led them eastward through the Galisteo Pass to the Pecos.<sup>522</sup> They continued in an easterly direction to the Magdalena river, the Canadian, "which was reached just below the sharp turn to the east." The country was described as pleasant and fruitful. Following the river for some distance a rough region was passed before they approached the plains again. From

518. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

519. *El licenciado Gines de Herrera Orta*, September 3, 1600, in *Gordojuela visita*. He soon returned to New Spain.

520. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The letter was sent when Oñate and Father Martínez sent Joseph de Coronda and Fray Luís Maironos to Mexico with reports.

521. The "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," says seventy. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251; the "Breve Relación" eighty. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 198; the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" one hundred. *Ibid.*, XVI, 221; while ninety-four is the figure given in *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venía*. San Gabriel, October 2, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

522. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 251-252. Professor Bolton has carefully identified Oñate's route toward the east, and his conclusions are followed in this summary.

that time on the country was level and greater progress was made. Although it was the region frequented by the Apaches no trouble of any kind was experienced. The other hardships incident to the journey were alleviated by fish from the river and by fruit from the plum trees and grapes vines growing along its banks. In the early days of August the first buffalo were spied and some killed. But about that time the fertile valley of the Canadian gave place to sand dunes. Then the expedition turned toward the north, just east of the Antelope Hills.<sup>523</sup>

The route followed now led northward to Beaver Creek and the Cimarron river, which were followed for a time. Soon a huge ranchería was found, said to contain over five thousand inhabitants. The houses of these Indians were merely tents made from buffalo hides, and their villages temporary structures. They were roving Indians who followed the buffalo which furnished them with both food and clothing. They told the Spaniards of another nation eight leagues away. With these they were at war, so they accompanied Oñate who would vanquish their enemies. But their action was no doubt partly due to the fact that Humaña had been killed in the vicinity and they wished to throw the responsibility on their foes.<sup>524</sup>

Acting as guides they now led the expedition to a large eastward flowing river, apparently the Arkansas, where they quickly built their ranchería anew, much to the astonishment of the visitors. There they were content to remain while Oñate proceeded to visit their foes.<sup>525</sup> The following day about four leagues distant the Spaniards saw other natives, some hostile and some friendly. Precautions were taken against a surprise attack during the night, but it passed without incident. In the morning, however, the hostile tribe was awaiting a chance to attack, boasting that they had murdered Humaña's party and burned them

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523. *Ibid.*, 254-255.

524. *Ibid.*, 256-257.

525. *Ibid.*, 258.

all. In order to avoid a conflict Oñate tried to capture their chief and succeeded in doing so.<sup>526</sup> Continuing forward a short distance another settlement, said to contain 1,200 houses, was discovered. The "houses" were covered with dry grass on the outside and within contained elevated platforms which were used as beds.<sup>527</sup> The settlement was deserted, and the Indians accompanying Oñate wanted to pillage and burn it. This he prevented, however, and ordered them back to their ranchería.<sup>528</sup>

In order to learn something of the country in which he was sojourning and what lay beyond the governor questioned the captive chief closely. The information was not at all pleasing. Numerous settlements, it would appear, existed both toward the north and east, but the prisoner advised the Spaniards not to go forward. The Indians who had withdrawn from the Spanish camp were assembling their friends, according to the captive, and would soon be so numerous that it would be possible to wipe out the small foreign force. In spite of such information Oñate continued a few leagues more, and then decided to return after his men had presented a petition summarizing the reasons why that should be done. As the report of the journey read, "that his Majesty . . . might issue the orders necessary to the royal service and to the acceleration of the salvation of these souls." From New Mexico the soldiers had now traveled two hundred and twenty leagues and reached the vicinity of Wichita, Kansas.<sup>529</sup>

On the return journey Oñate learned that the Quiviras, the first settlement found in that region, were prepared for war, and though he attempted to avoid a clash the In-

526. *Ibid.*, 259-260. According to Zárate-Salmerón, as Bolton points out, the Indians rescued him in a feint attack, carrying him away irons and all. *Spanish Exploration*, 260 note 1.

527. The description fits the Wichita grass lodges; see "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in *Ibid.*, 260 and note 4; and Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 949.

528. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 260 261 note 1.

529. *Ibid.*, 262-263, 260 note 2.

dians were evidently determined not to let him escape. In the course of the battle which followed most of the Spaniards were wounded, and finally a retreat was ordered. The soldiers were compelled to give up all the prisoners taken with one exception. One man, Miguel, was retained in order that a link might be established to communicate with his nation in case of future expeditions into that country. Without further mishap the force then set out for San Gabriel, reaching it on November 24, 1601, after an absence of exactly five months.<sup>530</sup>

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530. *Ibid.*, 264-265.

## Chapter IX

THE DESERTION OF THE COLONY<sup>531</sup>

*Oñate's Return from Quivira.* It was a sadly depleted capital which welcomed the governor back from his extensive search for new and wealthy provinces in the north. Nearly all the inhabitants of San Gabriel, discouraged and broken in fortune, had taken advantage of his absence and escaped to Santa Bárbara. The poverty of the land and the discipline maintained by Oñate contributed to their misfortune. The story of this episode has never been told in detail. Torquemada gives a brief account of the escape of the settlers, and subsequent writers have followed his narrative.<sup>532</sup>

It is now possible to add to this story some of the details. Two lengthy documents from the Spanish archives, and drawn up by two opposing groups, give biased accounts of New Mexico and of the reasons for thus fleeing without authority. The one is a dreary account, seeking to justify the move. The other pictures New Mexico as a remarkable land and condemns as traitors those who deserted.<sup>533</sup>

*Oñate's Admonition to the Settlers.* Before starting for Quivira care had been taken to provide for the permanence of the capital. As lieutenant-governor and captain-general Oñate had appointed Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa, who up to that time bore the rank of captain and royal

531. This chapter, now slightly revised, was published in the January, 1925, number of the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*.

532. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 678; cf. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 150-151; Twitchell, *Leading Facts* I, 330.

533. The one is entitled: *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo*. San Gabriel, September 7, 1601. The other reads: *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venia*. San Gabriel, October 2, 1601. Both are in A. G. I., 58-3-15.

ensign. Peñalosa was a man of quality. He was one of those with the largest equipment of personal property of any in the expedition.<sup>534</sup> Oñate, however, did not stop here. He took the precaution personally to impress those who remained with the great importance of maintaining the settlement as a base for future operations. "To all those who remained here the governor, with tears in his eyes, entrusted the protection of this settlement as a thing of great importance for the service of his majesty."<sup>535</sup> Peñalosa failed in that duty, apparently because he felt that it was hopeless to remain in a barren province and that the movement to desert was therefore justifiable.

*Rebellion in the Colony.* There is evidence to show that rebellion had been brewing before Oñate left San Gabriel in June, 1601, and that he realized the danger. Perhaps he hoped to checkmate the plans of those suspected of disloyalty by taking them along to Quivira. But if he did succeed in catching some, others with equally bad motives escaped. The most prominent among the latter were the purveyor Diego de Zubia, and captains Pedro Alonso and Alonso Quesada. "Because of the entreaties of the religious he left them in this settlement."<sup>536</sup> There they soon stirred up the glowing embers of discontent into open revolt.

Before sedition broke out openly secret plans for deserting were cherished by some of the leaders. Zubia, in particular, was anxious to leave, and soon broached the subject to Sergeant Alonso de la Vega. Both were from Durango. At an opportune moment in a conversation when

534. Peñalosa came from the Chalchuites mines. He joined the expedition when it was first organized, and had remained loyal throughout the long period of suspension. He was accompanied by his wife, Doña Eufemia, and two sons, Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa and Estevan Yllan de Sosa, aged 24 and 21, respectively. His daughter was Zubia's wife. He possessed twelve carts, (Oñate had only twenty-four) a numerous herd of live-stock, and a large retinue of servants.

535. Testimony of Sergeant Alonso de la Vega on article seven, in *Información y papeles*. Six witnesses swore that Oñate had personally entrusted them with the honor of guarding the capital.

536. Statement of La Vega, in *ibid.* This would indicate that the missionaries were aware of the feeling in the colony.

the topic turned to matters at home Zubia exclaimed: "Señor Vega, your grace should not go on the expedition [to Quivira], for it is more important that we return to the land of peace."<sup>537</sup>

Zubia then unfolded his plan. It happened that he was troubled with a boil on his leg. This unpleasant fact provided him with an excellent excuse for going to Santo Domingo to see a surgeon, the lay brother Damian. Once at Santo Domingo, which was on the road to Mexico, he would feign illness, send for his wife, and then, being fully prepared, depart for New Spain. Vega paid no attention to his scheming, but went with Oñate as he had intended. After having gone about fifty leagues, however, he became ill and had to return. Thereupon he was at once approached by Captains Conde, César, Alonso, and Zubia, who informed him of their secret preparations for going away. They were merely waiting to gather some wheat before starting. Again Vega declined to join them, but within two or three weeks saw that most of the soldiers, aided and abetted by the friars, were publicly talking of abandoning the land. By that time these leaders had succeeded in drawing practically the entire population of the colony to their support.<sup>538</sup>

*The Movement to Desert.* It naturally took some time before the plotters dared to make their schemes public, but they do not seem to have encountered much opposition. About two months<sup>539</sup> after Oñate's departure for Quivira they had made such progress that public meetings were being held to determine what course of action to pursue. The missionaries took a prominent part in these matters.<sup>540</sup> It was soon agreed to move the entire settlement to some better

537. *Ibid.*

538. *Ibid.*

539. Oñate started for Quivira on June 23, 1601. If La Vega accompanied him fifty leagues he probably returned to San Gabriel about August 1, or shortly afterwards. That would place the outbreak in the latter part of August.

540. Nearly every page of the papers sent to Mexico both by those who de-

place, and to inform the king and viceroy of the legitimate reasons for leaving New Mexico.

Early in September, 1601, a public meeting was held in the church. It was attended by the officers, soldiers, and five of the missionaries, Fathers San Miguel, Zamora, Izquierdo, Peralta, and Damian Escudero, the latter a lay brother.<sup>541</sup> Two other missionaries were with Oñate.<sup>542</sup> Another had returned to Mexico a few weeks earlier.<sup>543</sup> Father Oliva's name is not mentioned at all. This leaves only Father Escalona, the commissary, unaccounted for, it seems. That he was fully in sympathy with the movement to leave the province is perfectly clear. He declined to take an active part in the movement, probably because of his official position, but the report which he sent to his superiors in Mexico left no doubt of his feelings. Starvation had compelled the colony to go, he pleaded, and so it "became my imperative duty to allow the missionaries who were here to go with them . . . ; and they do not go with the intent of leaving and abandoning this land altogether, but only constrained by necessity."<sup>544</sup>

The gathering was held in order to draw up in proper form the reasons for deserting. The missionaries clearly took the initiative. After mass had been said, Father San Miguel made a speech in which he "discussed many causes, repeating many and diverse times, that it was right that the entire army should leave."<sup>545</sup> Peñalosa also commented upon the agreement of the soldiers and the missionaries

serted and those who remained bears witness to this fact. The viceroy made the same report to the king. "Discurso y proposición," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 45

541. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

542. Fray Francisco de Velasco and Fray Pedro de Vergara. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251.

543. Fray Luis de Maironos, who had been sent to Mexico with reports. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

544. "Carta de Relación," October 1, 1601, in *Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana*, I, 574.

545. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

to leave.<sup>546</sup> He thereupon ordered that the opinions of the latter as well as of the military officials, "who were ready to follow the religious," should be taken and recorded.

*Testimony of the Friars.* The missionaries were first called to the witness stand by Peñalosa to explain their reasons for giving up the work of converting the heathen.<sup>547</sup> The vice-commissary, Father San Miguel, took oath in due form to tell the truth regarding the province and what ought to be done to escape its misery. He charged, and seemingly with truth, that instead of finding a spirit of kindness in the colony toward the natives they were treated with utter disregard. The result was that the Word of God was blasphemed and not blessed. He had begun to learn four of the native languages and had worked hard to secure converts.<sup>548</sup> In these efforts he had experienced the greatest difficulty because the soldiers "leave them nothing in their houses, no wheat, nothing to eat, nothing that is alive."

It was the old trouble, the military offending the natives, making it extremely difficult for the missionaries to do anything. Father San Miguel testified that he had seen many pueblos entirely deserted because of fear of the soldiers, and the cruelty practised by them when coming to rob the natives of their food. Remonstrances against such injustice had availed nothing because "the land is so poor and so miserable that the governor has not been able to remedy" the situation. He confessed that Indian chiefs had been tortured and many killed in order to make them tell where their maize was concealed. Thousands

546. "It has come to my notice that many captains, officers and soldiers of this town, in agreement with the missionaries . . . who are in these provinces, have frequently said that it was proper for the service of God our Lord and his majesty that this entire capital should get ready and depart. . . . " *Ibid.*

547. Peñalosa was present in the church while this testimony was taken. He conducted the entire proceeding and signed the declaration made by each witness. A month later when the soldiers who remained loyal wished to take testimony to present before the viceroy, Peñalosa permitted it, but otherwise remained aloof.

548. Testimony of Father San Miguel, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*. Father San Miguel's province included Pecos, the salines, and the Jumano pueblos. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del

of Indians had already died from starvation. They had been reduced to such extremity that he had seen them eating branches of trees, earth, charcoal and ashes. That was rather gritty food, indeed. "If we wait much longer the natives, and all who are in the province, will die of starvation, cold and nakedness."<sup>549</sup>

Fray Francisco de Zamora gave equally discrediting testimony. He also insisted that attempts to Christianize the Indians had been made, but that the poor results obtained, due to the terrible injuries inflicted on the natives by the soldiers in order to secure food, had rendered their labors futile. The Christian religion had been degraded and converts were few.<sup>550</sup>

Father Izquierdo recounted at length some of the calamities which had befallen the miserable natives. In addition he testified that some of the settlers had spent so much money in the conquest of New Mexico that it would have been enough to undertake the subjugation of another province. In return for these sacrifices there was no compensation. On the contrary they had been compelled to steal the food and blankets which the natives required for their own needs. The only alternative to this procedure was starvation and death, or the desertion of the province for better lands.<sup>551</sup> Such were the reasons for giving up the fight for souls in New Mexico.

*The Complaints of Four Captains.* Following the missionaries four prominent captains related to Peñalosa their enormous sacrifices. The treasurer Alonso Sánchez testified that he had sold his extensive possessions near Nombre de Dios at a sacrifice in order to join Oñate's expedition with his entire household. Two of his daughters were married to officers in the army; three who were not married, and two sons also accompanied the expedition. In

pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 113-114.

549. Testimony of Father San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

550. Testimony of Father Zamora, in *ibid.*

551. Testimony of Father Izquierdo, in *ibid.*

New Mexico he had served on most of the trips of exploration which had been made and had found that there was no chance for profit in the land. It was a sterile country without gold or silver.<sup>552</sup>

The purveyor-general, Diego de Zubia, an inhabitant of Durango, had soon decided to join Oñate's expedition, when the news of its organization reached him. He sold his large estates, normally worth 12,000 ducats, married Doña Juana de Trejo, a daughter of Captain Sánchez, and went to New Mexico on his honeymoon.<sup>553</sup>

Captains Bernabé de las Casas and Gregorio César, both of Mexico, told of joining the army and spending large sums of money in the enterprise. All had finally been reduced to the same level in a state of abject poverty, and were now petitioning the king to have mercy upon them by permitting their return to New Spain.<sup>554</sup>

*Peñalosa Sanctions Desertion.* Peñalosa was in a rather uncomfortable position as lieutenant-governor, and in his communications to the viceroy tried to make a safe explanation of his own conduct in the crisis. He could not blame Oñate, who was far away in the king's service in search of new provinces to conquer. He could not hold the missionaries responsible for what had happened, nor was it of any use to blame the soldiers. They took sides with the missionaries, or alleged that the things condemned were necessary in order to exist in such a fruitless and sterile region.<sup>555</sup>

The capital was thus torn with dissension, and though it was Peñalosa's duty to preserve order he did nothing whatever to hinder the progress of the rebellion. We must conclude, therefore, that he was fully in accord with what was going on. Nevertheless, he would be compelled to re-

552. Testimony of Captain Alonso Sánchez, in *ibid.*

553. Testimony of Diego de Zubia, in *ibid.* Zubia testified that he was captain and *alcalde mayor* of the "province of Santa Bárbara" when Oñate began recruiting in that locality.

554. Testimony of Captains Las Casas and César, in *ibid.*

555. *Copia de una carta de Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa escrita al Conde de Monterey*, San Gabriel, October 1, 1601. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

main, together with the father-commissary, and such as refused to desert to Santa Bárbara till relief or authority to depart should come from Mexico. Peñalosa appealed to the viceroy that unless such aid was received within five months they too would be forced to desert. Captain Luís de Velasco, who had vigorously urged the abandonment of the province, was delegated to present the information in Mexico.<sup>556</sup>

*A Part of the Colony Remains Loyal.* The few faithful soldiers who remained in San Gabriel, indignant at the course events had taken, were entirely helpless to prevent the deserters from carrying out their plans. They did, however, determine to present their side of the case to the viceroy. In order to do this effectively it was necessary to send a representative to Mexico, and for this purpose they chose Captain Gerónimo Márquez. Peñalosa readily granted him permission to go.<sup>557</sup>

In order to have accurate information to present in Mexico, Márquez prepared an interrogatory containing twenty articles on which testimony was taken.<sup>558</sup> His purpose was to counteract the information being sent to Mexico by the missionaries and others. It was thus necessary to give a favorable report of the province, and this was done in the most glowing terms. At the same time the loyal soldiers deplored the cowardice of the deserters and sought to brand them as traitors.

Besides Peñalosa and the father-commissary there appear to have been about twenty-five soldiers in the group which remained in San Gabriel.<sup>559</sup> Ten of these appeared

556. Peñalosa characterized Velasco as a worthy and reliable man on whom the viceroy could depend. *Ibid.* Velasco was accompanied by Jusepe Brondate, Marcelo de Espinosa, Juan de Ortega, and the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta. They departed March 28, 1601. See their testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

557. Petition of the soldiers and reply of Peñalosa, October 2, 1601, in *Información y papeles*.

558. "Interrogatorio" of Captain Gerónimo Márquez, in *ibid.*

559. Petition of the soldiers, in *ibid.* They were: Alonso Gómez Montesinos, Bartolomé Romero, Cristóbal Vaca, Martín Gómez, Gonzalo Hernández, Hernán Martín, Acencio de Arechuelta, Alonso Varela, Alonso de Chaves, Pedro de Angulo.

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as witnesses before Captain Márquez. A large portion of their testimony dealt with the activities of the friars. On that subject Márquez asked each witness the following question: "Do you know if the Holy Gospel has been preached to the natives of this land, and how it was received by those who understood a little."<sup>560</sup>

*The First Efforts of the Missionaries.* In view of the fact that the testimony of all the witnesses showed passive or outspoken hostility to the friars, among others, their actions can quite readily be understood. All stated that the Gospel had been favorably received wherever any preaching had been done, but that very little had been attempted. Captain Cristóbal Vaca insisted that the friars had never gone over two leagues beyond the capital to preach, and that they were unwilling to do so. This selfish spirit was emphasized by nearly all the witnesses.<sup>561</sup>

There was one outstanding exception. Father Alonso de la Oliva at Santo Domingo had made a real attempt to bring salvation to the Indians. Eight soldiers spoke of his work. He had made so much progress that at the sound of a bell the natives would gather for religious instruction. At Jemez Father Lugo and a lay brother, a Mexican Indian, had built a church where the neophytes also assembled at the same signal. Captain Romero, who had been there, stated that they listened to the preaching of the lay brother and were also learning the prayers.<sup>562</sup>

Among the Picuries some success had been achieved by another lay brother, and at San Ildefonso, where it seems Father San Miguel was laboring,<sup>563</sup> a church had been erected. Moreover, it was testified that one of the soldiers,

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Juan Luxán, Baltasar de Monzon, Diego Diaz, Juan de Medina, Alvaro García, Alonso Barba, Rodrigo Correa, Juan Pérez, Juan de Salas, Juan López Deguin, Pedro Locero, Juan Fernández, Simón Pérez de Bustillo.

560. Article two, in "Interrogatorio" of Captain Márquez, in *Información y papeles*.

561. Testimony of Captain Vaca and others on article two, in *ibid*.

562. Testimony on article two, in *ibid*.

563. Testimony of Romero, Montesinos, and Hernán Martín on article two, in *ibid*. Father San Miguel never went to his own field, according to Captain Brondate. See his testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

Hernán Martín, had learned the language of the Queres and had explained matters of doctrine to them. "If the padres had fulfilled their duty the Indians would all have been Christians by this time," exclaimed Captain Montesinos.

Some had accepted the forms of Christianity, notably the natives of San Juan. A few days before the talk of leaving the province broke out, two baptismal ceremonies had been held. At the first of these the children of the women led into slavery at Acoma, and those near the capital who served the Spaniards, were baptized, and the next set likewise consisted largely of women slaves. All the witnesses, some of whom had acted as sponsors,<sup>564</sup> so stated, and added that the neophytes fled when they learned of the proposed abandonment of the land. They feared to be taken away from native surroundings. If no effort should be made to reassemble these converts, said the soldiers, in order to continue their instruction in the faith they must inevitably relapse into heathenism very soon. All of these calamities, they maintained, had been caused by the determination of a few to forsake the land.<sup>565</sup>

In the bitterness of the moment the loyal soldiers placed much of the responsibility for this state of affairs on the friars. During the organization of the expedition and after reaching New Mexico they had always told the colonists of the great service the latter were doing for God and king by staying in the land and assisting in its conversion. The missionaries had compared them to Christ's Apostles and urged their cooperation in Christianizing the natives. That spirit had suddenly changed, was the charge, and the padres had used their great influence in the cause of desertion.<sup>566</sup>

*The Ringleaders.* In the report which Márquez carried

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564. Hernán Martín, Martín Gómez, and Alonso Gómez Montesinos.

565. Testimony on article twenty, in *Información y papeles*.

566. Article twelve and testimony, in *ibid.* As late as August 2, 1601, Monterey had apparently received no idea of dissatisfaction among the missionaries. Up till that time the latter had simply reported that there were many docile Indians who were desirous of becoming Christians. *Monterey a S. M.*, August 2, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

to the viceroy an effort was made to identify those who were responsible for fomenting dissension. Four captains, Don Luís de Velasco, Bernabé de las Casas, Alonso de Quesada, and Gregorio César, were unanimously acclaimed as being among the ringleaders. Several others had been working with them, however. Nine of the witnesses accused Antonio Conde, eight included Zubia, and six named Alonso Sánchez and Pedro Alonso among the guilty. The friars were specifically mentioned by only three in this connection.<sup>567</sup> On other questions, however, five told of hearing the missionaries preaching desertion, while four others stated that they were present and witnessed all that took place while the rebellion was developing. The tenth witness, Juan Sánchez, reported that both parties, priests and soldiers, cast the blame on the other party.<sup>568</sup> It is clear that both the religious and military authorities were responsible for the flight of the colony.

*Making Desertion Compulsory.* Captain Márquez further charged that the missionaries, in their sermons and discussions, had exhorted the soldiers to abandon the province. Gerónimo Hernández told how Fray Lope de Izquierdo had tried to bring him over to their purpose by stating that all the missionaries wanted to go to Mexico. Later he heard him preach the same message from the pulpit. Fray San Miguel likewise made futile efforts to change his mind.<sup>569</sup>

The captains were evidently more unscrupulous than the missionaries. They went about the colony practically compelling everyone to sign the "roll of the deserters." It was their practise to take someone aside, inform him that all had signed with the exception of himself, and that not a soul would remain behind. Such was the experience of Alonso de la Vega who was taken to Fray Lope's cell by Captain Don Luís de Velasco. He was there told to sign

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567. Testimony on article eleven, in *Información y papeles*.

568. Testimony on article nine, in *ibid.*

569. Testimony of Gerónimo Hernández, in *ibid.*

as he was the only one who had not done so. Gerónimo Hernández and Hernán Martín testified that they were explicitly informed that not a soul would remain, not even the lieutenant-governor nor the father-commissary.<sup>570</sup> The royal standard would no longer wave over the capital at San Gabriel.

By such means did the party of desertion formulate their plans to give up New Mexico. However, their carefully matured efforts broke down in part. When it was seen that some were reluctant to go and that neither Peñalosa nor Fray Juan de Escalona were leaving, as had been vouchsafed, a few determined to stay. Those who had been hoodwinked into signing the deserter's roll now cast their lot with New Mexico and Oñate.

*The Flight.* After most of the colonists had been persuaded to leave, the group forsook New Mexico in September or October, 1601. Santa Bárbara was their destination and thither they hurried.<sup>571</sup>

*Oñate Returns from Quivira.* Meanwhile, Oñate returned from Quivira late in the following November, not a whit richer than when he set out. His soldiers, many of whom bore the marks of their clash with the Kansas Indians were a weary band of knight-errants indeed. In San Gabriel further disappointment was in store for Oñate, and he must have listened to the news of the colony's departure with bitter chagrin. Just as new hopes had appeared on the horizon, to take advantage of which more men were needed, a part of his force had fled. His own men and horses were sadly in need of rest and there were neither to take their places. Nevertheless, plans were soon set in motion for dealing with the situation.

*The Deserters are Condemned.* Judicial proceedings were instituted against the deserters and they were sentenced "as the treason against his majesty demanded," ac-

570. See their testimony on article ten, in *ibid.*

571. See letters of Fathers Escalona and San Miguel given in Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 676-678.

cording to Zaldívar.<sup>572</sup> Father San Miguel asserts that they were to be beheaded.<sup>573</sup> After the sentence had been pronounced the former was ordered to overtake the rebels and bring them back. But he was too late. They had already reached Santa Bárbara. There they had been taken care of by Captain Gordejuela at the viceroy's order,<sup>574</sup> and Zaldívar, though complaining of ill health, set out for Mexico to make a personal report to the viceroy.<sup>575</sup> Should he fail to secure satisfaction from the latter he planned a trip to Spain to appeal directly to the king.<sup>576</sup>

*Serious Charges Against Oñate.* From Santa Bárbara the condemned colonists made strenuous efforts to save themselves. Reports were made painting Oñate in the blackest colors. Father San Miguel informed his superior that everyone in the colony was compelled to bow to Oñate's slightest wish, and that even the friars were forced to worship him. He charged that the land was inhospitable and that it was impossible to live there under the circumstances. The governor, in order not to lose

his reputation, makes use of a thousand falsehoods, . . . sends thousands of souls to hell, and does things not fit to be mentioned by Christians. . . . In all the expeditions he has butchered many Indians, human blood has been shed, and he has committed thefts, sackings, and other atrocities. I pray that God may grant him the grace to do penance for all his deeds.<sup>577</sup>

*The Viceroy Consults the Theologians.* Monterey did not take upon himself full responsibility for settling this

572. Vicente de Zaldívar to Monterey, Sombrerete. February 28, 1602. A. G. I., 58-8-15.

573. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 677.

574. Some had preceded the others and informed the viceroy of their action, and he then ordered them detained till the matter could be investigated. *Copia de un capítulo de carta del virrey de Nueva España . . . á S. M.*, March 8, 1602, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

575. Zaldívar to Monterey, February 28, 1602.

576. Zaldívar to Cristóbal de Oñate, Luís Nuñez Pérez and Cristóbal de Salazar, February 28, 1602, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

577. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 676-677. Part of this passage is quoted by Bolton in his *Spanish Borderlands*, 175.

delicate matter. On the contrary he consulted various theologians and jurists. He wanted to know, in particular, whether the fleeing colonists had committed the crime of desertion, and whether some of them, at least, ought not to be punished. The wisemen whom he consulted held that those in question were not full-fledged soldiers but settlers who could not be called military deserters. Moreover, as it was the first offense, they considered it best to spare them.<sup>578</sup>

Nor did the theologians feel that the escaped colonists could or should be compelled to go back to New Mexico, even if they were given supplies and provisions. They had exercised an inalienable right and made certain accusations which ought to be investigated by some higher tribunal.

Nevertheless, they felt that the land should not be given up. The natives who had already been Christianized ought to be protected. A few soldiers might be sent for this purpose, "not as an army, nor with the clang of arms," but only enough to protect the friars. In the future there should be no restriction on communication with Mexico. There ought to be free recourse to both the viceroy and audiencia in Mexico, as well as to the king and Council of the Indies in Spain.<sup>579</sup>

These opinions of the theologians supported the viceroy's first move to protect the settlers from Oñate's wrath. Consequently the adelantado never got back his colonists. The complaints which they had made cast a serious shadow on his reputation. He and his friends made efforts to disprove the charges and to regain royal favor, but only with indifferent success. The desertion of the colony and the pent-up opposition which it unloosened were important factors in revealing the true nature of Oñate's achievement in New Mexico. The illusions of fabled wealth which had circulated generally up to this time were dispelled and the way prepared for the permanent growth of New Mexico as a missionary field.

578. *Copia de los puntos que se consultaron á teologos y juristas . . . y tambien de la respuesta de los dichos teologos*, January 6 and 31, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

579. *Ibid.*

## Chapter X.

## OÑATE'S DIFFICULTIES AND THE EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA

*Prosperity of the Colony.* In the account of the flight of Oñate's colonists it was necessary to deal with much of the sordid side of life in New Mexico. But our story is not all of that nature. At times we find pleasant reports of the fertility and excellence of the land. Some interesting facts of that nature were sent to Mexico in 1601. It was then pointed out that never before had there been such ample provisions on hand in the colony. The harvest that year would bring the Spaniards fifteen hundred fanegas<sup>580</sup> of wheat, it was predicted. This was only five hundred less than the annual requirements. The Indians also were harvesting and would have enough to tide them over. There were three thousand head of stock in the province, and the gardens were full of fruits and vegetables. In the three years since the Spanish occupation greater amounts of grain and vegetables had been grown each year. True, the harvest was not yet completed, but all felt assured of a heavy yield.

During the first year in New Mexico Oñate's settlers seeded only seven *fanegas* of wheat. In the second about fifty *fanegas* had been cultivated, with a return of nearly one thousand. In 1601 almost one hundred *fanegas* had been planted, and the indications pointed to a good harvest. The situation was therefore better than during the first year when they had to rely entirely on the Indians for maize.<sup>581</sup>

*Trouble with the Jumanos.* Of a different nature was

580. A *fanega* contains one and six-tenths bushels.

581. Testimony on articles thirteen and fourteen, in *Información y papeles*. This testimony is given by those who refused to desert New Mexico. It is therefore the rosiest side of the picture. But even so they admitted that some corn must still be furnished by the Indians.

a conflict with the Jumanos. This arose when five soldiers fled from the capital, hoping to escape to New Spain. On the way the Jumanos attacked them, killing two of the fugitives and over twenty of their horses. Castañeda and Santillan were the victims.<sup>582</sup> The three survivors, whose names are not given, hurried back to San Gabriel to inform the governor of what had taken place.

Within a short time of their return it was learned that the Jumanos were planning to attack the Spanish capital, hoping to wipe out the intruding settlement. When this became known all the soldiers petitioned Oñate to suspend his proposed journey to the east till the Jumanos could be punished and security reestablished in the province. This request was granted and Zaldívar was accordingly sent to Abó, here called a Jumano pueblo, in order to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards.<sup>583</sup>

The Indians quickly learned that Zaldívar was on his way. Calling their friends they assembled in the pueblo of Agualaco,<sup>584</sup> to await developments. Zaldívar approached the place without suspecting that it was filled with enemies, due to the fact that it had sent friendly representatives to him. As he was nearing the pueblo about eight hundred natives suddenly sallied forth and compelled his force to face a dangerous attack.<sup>585</sup> Such an insult must be punished, otherwise the natives would become insolent and haughty and make the land unsafe.

Plans for the battle were carefully laid and the soldiers

582. Article sixteen and testimony, in *ibid.* In one place the name Salvatierra is substituted for Castañeda, but there is no record of a man by that name in the colony. Santillan reached San Gabriel in December, 1600, with the reinforcements. Therefore the incident occurred after that time — and before June 28, 1601, when Oñate went to Quivira.

583. Articles sixteen and seventeen, in *ibid.* "Para que fuse á los jumanas al pueblo de abó á castigar á los delinquentes . . ." Hodge calls Abó a Tompiros division of the Piros. *Handbook*, I, 6.

584. Article seventeen and testimony, in *Información y papeles*. Agualaco is doubtless identical with the Acolocú mentioned when the pueblos rendered obedience. It was said to be in a province called Cheálo. See "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de Acolocú," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 117-118. Hodge places that province in the vicinity of the salines. *Handbook*, I, 239.

585. Article seventeen, in *Información y papeles*.

sought divine aid before going into battle. Then Zaldívar offered peace to the Indians, promising them many things if this offer would be accepted, but nothing came of it. The Indians hurled rocks and arrows, indicating their refusal of the terms. The battle began at once. It lasted six days and nights before the natives acknowledged defeat.<sup>586</sup> Nine hundred had been killed, and their pueblo burned. We are told that Zaldívar pardoned all the men and women engaged in the battle save those most guilty. These seem to have numbered two hundred, nevertheless.<sup>587</sup> One captive was given to each soldier, but as soon as they had been taken to San Gabriel many fled. Within a brief period all save seven or eight had escaped.<sup>588</sup>

Writing in March, 1601, Captain Velasco reported that this struggle with the Jumanos was very recent,<sup>589</sup> and occurred because they refused to furnish blankets and provisions. This fray is not to be confused with Oñate's tussle with the Jumanos in the summer of 1599, when Zaldívar was on his way to the South Sea. The battle described above took place just before Oñate went to Quivira.

*Zaldívar in Mexico.* Following these events and the flight of the colony Vicente de Zaldívar was sent to Mexico with requests for aid and support in order to maintain and extend what had already been won in New Mexico.<sup>590</sup> He asked for a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers to be provided at the king's expense, and offered to add one hundred to this number at Oñate's cost. More missionaries must also be provided. But Monterey and the audiencia threw cold water on these plans within a month. It was their opinion that the discovery should not be con-

586. Article eighteen and testimony, in *ibid.* Another account of the battle says that it lasted five days and nights, and that the Indians did not give up till their water supply was cut off. In the final struggle to capture that point about forty Spaniards were wounded. Zaldívar was one of them, having suffered two wounds and a broken arm. Petition of Vicente de Zaldívar, 1603, A. G. I., 108-3-23.

587. *Carta de don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

588. Article eighteen and testimony, in *Información y papeles*.

589. See his letter, *op. cit.*

590. He arrived for Easter, before April 10, 1602.

tinued at such expense, but that the region already pacified in New Mexico should be maintained, even at some cost. It presented a fine field for missionary endeavor, and would serve as a base "from which to receive news of the settlements that are said to be in the north in that great expanse of country, which may truly be said to constitute a large fraction of the earth's surface."<sup>591</sup>

*Oñate Appeals to the King.* Meanwhile it should be noted that Oñate had long maintained an agent in Spain, seeking favors from the king. This was his brother Don Alonso, who was procurator-general of the miners of New Spain.<sup>592</sup> He was in Seville in March, 1600, long before the desertion of Oñate's colony or before the new province began to look like a profitless venture. He brought papers and reports from New Mexico, and strongly urged the king to favor his brother Don Juan.<sup>593</sup> He was seeking confirmation of Oñate's contract as made with Velasco and the restoration of the limitations made by the Count of Monterey. He insisted that his brother had fully met his obligations as shown by the Ulloa inspection, and that the subsequent inspection by Salazar was not fairly conducted. "Only by the mercy of God could Don Juan and his army bear such treatment. For this reason alone, he deserves that your highness do him the favor of confirming said capitulations." Don Alonso also requested that the title of adelantado be given his brother. He had earned it, and it had been promised before the conquest was undertaken.<sup>594</sup> Moreover he asked that missionaries of all orders be permitted to enter New Mexico. He insisted that no trouble would arise if the Franciscans were limited to those places then in their possession.<sup>595</sup>

591. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 200-201.

592. *Memorial que Don Alonso de Oñate . . . envia á S. M.*, [October 8, 1600]

A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

593. *Carta á S. M. de Don Alonso de Oñate*, Seville, March 2, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

594. Don Alonso to the president of the Council of the Indies, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 320-321.

595. Don Alonso de Oñate to the king, May 24, 1600, in *ibid.*, XVI, 316-319.

*The Opinion of the Council, June, 1600.* These matters were referred to the Council of the Indies and duly considered by it. Monterey's limitations were allowed to stand with one exception. The encomiendas granted in New Mexico, which Monterey had ordered confirmed within three years, were extended. It was not customary to limit them and the members of the Council voted to free Oñate from the restriction.<sup>596</sup>

The Council further agreed that the honor of becoming hidalgo should be extended to the descendants of those who died before the required five year period of service was up. It conceded that the title of adelantado should be given, in justice, to Oñate. Of the numerous additional privileges requested in the contract made with Viceroy Velasco, which the Council also passed on, some were partially granted. The royal fifth on the precious metals was reduced to a tenth for twenty years. Exemption from the *alcabala* was allowed for twenty years. But the king's decree suspended all these matters and referred them to the Count of Monterey for his opinion.<sup>597</sup>

Don Alonso fairly bombarded the king and the Council of the Indies with letters and petitions. He charged that Monterey had continually sought to destroy the expedition. It was for that reason that Oñate's contract had been limited, that Salazar had been sent to hold a second inspection, that Father Martínez who went to Mexico for reinforcements, was detained till he gave up in disgust, and that the whole project had been unnecessarily delayed all along. He pointed out anew that everything limited by the Count was granted in the royal ordinances, and that there was accordingly no reason for withholding these concessions.<sup>598</sup>

*Opinion of the Council, October, 1601.* Nearly a year elapsed before the king ordered the Council to reconsider

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596. *El Consejo de Indias a S. M.*, June 9, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

597. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

598. Two memorials of Don Alonso de Oñate [October 8, 1600], A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

this question, which was continually being urged by Oñate's friends. Accordingly it once more reviewed the modifications made by the Count and recommended some changes. The Council would now permit Oñate to be immediately subject to the Council of the Indies, except that appeal in governmental and judicial affairs to the audiencia of New Galicia must be permitted. For two years from the beginning of the conquest he might appoint royal officials in New Mexico and name their salary; he might recruit troops with the viceroy's sanction; bring two ships to his province yearly, again with the viceroy's approval; levy the tribute, without consulting the prelates, provided it did not exceed ten reales per year for each of those who had to pay it; and exercise absolute freedom in giving encomiendas. The king, however, was unwilling to concede the last point, and ordered that confirmation must be sought within three years.<sup>599</sup>

Don Alonso was dissatisfied with the king's action and immediately presented new remonstrances. He ridiculed the two year concession for appointing officials in New Mexico, as the conquest had begun four years before that was ordered. This was accordingly changed so that Oñate could name the officials for once only. In regard to the right of giving encomiendas Don Alonso had the Council on his side. It agreed that Oñate or his friends should not be obliged to ask confirmation of their encomiendas, "for it has not been done, nor is it done by any of the presidents or governors who have power to grant encomiendas."<sup>600</sup> Nevertheless the king modified the Council's decision and required the encomenderos to ask for confirmation within six years.<sup>601</sup>

The partial concessions which filtered through the king's fingers one by one evidently served to keep Don Alonso fighting for more. At any rate he made further

599. *El Consejo á S. M.*, and royal decree, October 17, 1601. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

600. *Junta particular á S. M.*, November 24, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

601. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

requests that the viceroy be instructed to send soldiers to Oñate, and that they be given the privileges of first settlers. Moreover it was again asked that the Carmelites be allowed to enter New Mexico. When these questions were considered by the Council it strongly recommended that Oñate be given the necessary reinforcements, and that the other requests be also granted.<sup>602</sup> Numerous points still in doubt had just been referred to Monterey for his opinion.<sup>603</sup>

*Oñate's Loss of Prestige.* On this occasion the decision of the Council was upheld by the king and he ordered that it be carried out. This was on June 22, 1602.<sup>604</sup> But about the same time news of various disorders and crimes said to have been committed by Oñate and others in New Mexico reached Spain and was considered by the Council on July 7, 1602. Presumably these reports dealt with the severe punishments Oñate had inflicted, and other irregularities.<sup>605</sup> The upshot of it all was that the king ordered Monterey to make a secret investigation. If Oñate was so guilty that it would be improper to leave him in New Mexico he was to be punished, but the conversion of the natives was not to be stopped for that reason.<sup>606</sup> In view of such unfavorable reports the king countermanded the order of June 22, and decreed that the entire business then sanctioned be delayed<sup>607</sup> It is just possible that information of the desertion of the colony had been received by that time and influenced his decision.

*The Title of Adelantado.* Before these disturbing reports were received in Spain Don Alonso had succeeded in wringing a few concessions from the crown. Early in 1602, before the scandal about Oñate was known in Spain,

602. *Junta particular*, June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

603. Royal cédula, June 7, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

604. Royal decree in response to *junta* of June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

605. See chapter VIII of this study.

606. *El Consejo de Indias* á S. M., April 22, 1603, 1-1-3/22.

607. Royal decree, August 12, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. The viceroy had already been informed of the above orders, for he shortly reported to the king that he had refused to permit the entry of the Carmelites into New Mexico. He gave as his reason the danger of conflict with the Franciscans. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

he had the satisfaction of sending a bit of "glory" to his brother in New Mexico. It was the title of adelantado which the king then conferred. The honor was to last through Oñate's lifetime and that of his son or heir.<sup>608</sup>

Moreover his independence of the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico was formally decreed, with appeal to the audiencia of New Galicia.<sup>609</sup> The right to levy tribute without consulting the religious was likewise promulgated, provided it did not exceed ten reales a year for each tributary,<sup>610</sup> and the ennoblement of the children of those conquerors who died before the title of hidalgo had been legally won was officially sanctioned.<sup>611</sup>

*Monterey Resents the King's Action.* Viceroy Monterey first heard of these concessions through Oñate's friends in Mexico in the fall of 1602. He was greatly displeased, particularly that Oñate had been freed from his control. But the notification was not official, and lacking such notice he determined to act as formerly in regard to New Mexico. The audiencia concurred in this decision, and Monterey went on with his plans of sending three or four friars to the north. New Mexico was still in a very precarious situation and in danger of being deserted by the few who had remained there.<sup>612</sup> The missionaries were shortly sent, probably reaching San Gabriel in May, 1603. Besides these there were already two in the province, we are informed.<sup>613</sup>

*Zaldívar's Pilgrimage to Spain.* When Zaldívar failed to secure the desired assistance from the royal officials in Mexico he departed for Europe, evidently in 1602, armed with reports on New Mexico and with the opinions of the audiencia and Monterey. The latter urged the king that

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608. Royal cédula, February 7, 1602, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397-399.

609. Royal cédula, July 8, in *ibid.*, 405.

610. Royal cédula, July 4, 1602, in *ibid.*, 408.

611. Royal cédula, July 8, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

612. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602.

613. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 28, 1603, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Oñate had made urgent requests that the Jesuits be allowed to enter New Mexico, but Monterey refused to permit it.

the *maestre de campo* be given attention at once, for it was expedient that a decision one way or the other be reached without delay.<sup>614</sup>

Zaldívar soon informed the crown of Oñate's dire distress. He insisted, in particular, that there were too few soldiers to continue the discovery. Four hundred additional soldiers would not be too many to reap the fruits of what had already been discovered, and the king was asked to provide three hundred of these. The rest would be furnished by Oñate, even though his expenses for the past six years had been enormous. But in spite of Zaldívar's glowing accounts of New Mexico and the country beyond, the Council was not convinced that such a heavy drain on the royal treasury was warranted. The reports of scandals said to have been committed by Oñate left a bad impression. It was probably for that reason that the Council refused to consider the matter and recommended that the entire question of New Mexican affairs be left to the viceroy's discretion.<sup>615</sup> The responsibility would then devolve on the Marquis of Montesclaros, newly appointed viceroy of New Spain.<sup>616</sup>

Though unsuccessful in getting the crown to send more men to New Mexico, Zaldívar's voyage was not entirely in vain. In a *junta de guerra* of May 23, 1603, the Council recommended a loan of thirty or forty thousand ducats to Oñate, that the conversion of the natives might not be hindered.<sup>617</sup> It also approved his plan to recruit some musketeers and shipwrights in Seville and San Lucar, as there were none of these in the Indies. He was only allowed forty men, though his request was for seventy. They were to sail with the fleet, the expense of their passage and

614. *Curta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602. Vicente de Zaldívar was *sargento mayor* of the expedition to New Mexico, but was also given the title of *maestre de campo* after the death of his brother Juan at Acoma in December, 1598, and he was usually referred to by that title while in Spain.

615. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, April 22, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

616. Montesclaros reached Mexico in September, 1603. Bancroft, *Mexico*, III, 5.

617. *La Junta de Guerra de Indias á S. M.*, May 23, 1603. This was approved by the king, but I have no record that it was carried out.

freight being paid by the crown. Only fifteen hundred ducats, however, could be expended for this purpose.<sup>618</sup>

The Council also approved Zaldívar's request for two experienced pilots to be hired at Oñate's cost. They were to be used in making voyages of discovery on the North or South Seas. In addition he was allowed to bring a quantity of military equipment with the fleet, but it was evidently purchased at his own cost.<sup>619</sup>

Zaldívar did not remain long in Spain. Little had been gained and he departed with the fleet in 1603, leaving Don Alonso to represent Oñate's interests there. Nor had he been able to enlist the forty musketeers, shipwrights, and two pilots before the fleet sailed. Don Alonso took over the task and requested that he might assume the privileges granted to Zaldívar.<sup>620</sup> The king permitted the favor and allowed the small group to sail in December or January in a tender of eighty tons.<sup>621</sup> Moreover it was decreed that the boat might bring a small amount of merchandise in order to make the trip less expensive.<sup>622</sup>

*Oñate's Residencia is Postponed.* When Monterey received the orders from the king to investigate the charges of misconduct preferred against Oñate he should normally have ordered the latter's *residencia*.<sup>623</sup> But he determined not to do so, with the approval of the audiencia, because of the danger of discrediting the new region so thoroughly that it would be given up in disgust. He felt that the *residencia* could be held with fewer disadvantages some time later.<sup>624</sup> The stand taken on the subject was approved by

618. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, and royal decree, May 17, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; cf. royal cédula of June 23, 1603, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 407.

619. Authorized in two cédulas of June 12 and June 23, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2. The equipment consisted of sixty harquebuses, thirty muskets, one hundred coat of mail, one hundred cuishes, fifty helmets with beavers, one hundred swords and daggers, fifty buckskin jackets or buckskin for making them.

620. *Don Alonso de Oñate á la Casa*, August 19, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

621. Royal cédula, September 8, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

622. *A la Casa*, January 19, 1604, A. G. I., 139-1-2. There were some married men among those enlisted and they were permitted to bring their wives and children.

623. The *residencia* was an official investigation to determine whether an officer had been true to his trust.

624. *Copia de los advertimientos generales q se le enviaron al virrey Marqués de Montesclaros*, March 28, 1604, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

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the crown, and when Montesclaros became viceroy he was instructed to favor the New Mexico enterprise as the charges against Oñate were uncertain.<sup>625</sup>

*Montesclaros Reports on New Mexico.* Montesclaros soon found it necessary to make a complete study of the affairs relating to New Mexico. In order to do so with all possible care he conferred with three of the most disinterested judges of the audiencia and with the fiscal in secret sessions. Criminal as well as other charges were considered and a report drawn up and sent to the king.<sup>626</sup> Some of the findings of this committee follow.

The conference judged that the land and its inhabitants were, on the whole, poor. It reported that the silver ore sent to Mexico by Oñate contained nothing but copper; that any returns from the province were dependent on the duration of the occupation; that Oñate would not be able to pay even the fourth of the cost of a reinforcement of soldiers; that the charges against him were not bad, but sufficient that he should not continue the conquest; that a judge or alcalde of the audiencia ought to go in person to report on the province and its mining possibilities; that such an official should have power to take Oñate and his guilty relatives prisoners; that in any event a presidio should be established in New Mexico; that if Oñate was not found guilty he should be authorized to continue the conquest; and that in case a *visitador* should be sent either Doctor Morga, alcalde of the audiencia, or the licentiate Morquecho, a judge of the same tribunal, or both, should be named. After the investigation, neither should be permitted to return to the audiencia.<sup>627</sup>

*The Expedition to the Gulf of California.* Oñate's province was thus coming to be regarded as a "white elephant" which would have to be supported by the crown. No wealth in gold, silver, or precious stones had been found, nothing but a fairly large number of half naked Indians.

625. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, March 31, 1605, A. G. I., 58-8-15.

626. *Ibid.* The opinion of the *junta* was given in fourteen numbered paragraphs.

627. *Ibid.*

His rule was under the shadow of serious mismanagement. But there was yet one hope of overcoming these misfortunes. Plans of reaching the South Sea had long been contemplated, and Oñate assembled his depleted force in preparation of another hunt for the "Golden Fleece."<sup>628</sup>

With thirty soldiers, and accompanied by Father Escobar, the commissary of the missionaries, and Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, a lay brother, he left San Gabriel on October 7, 1604,<sup>629</sup> following the route opened by Farfán and Zaldívar some years earlier. The party passed through the province of Zuñi, fifty leagues from San Gabriel,<sup>630</sup> then went northwest to Moqui, twenty leagues, west to the Little Colorado, ten leagues, and then seventeen leagues to a river called San Antonio. "It ran from north to south between great mountain chains."<sup>631</sup> On this stretch of territory they had passed through a pine forest eight leagues wide.<sup>632</sup> Five leagues beyond the San Antonio river they came to the Sacramento river.<sup>633</sup> This stream flowed in a southeasterly direction, and Escobar stated that it was in that place that Espejo discovered mines.<sup>634</sup>

From that point the expedition continued westward nearly sixteen leagues, till the river called San Andrés was reached on November 30.<sup>635</sup> This was Bill Williams Fork.

628. Cf. Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," in *Catholic Historical Review*, V, 22. Hereafter cited as Escobar's Relation.

629. *Ibid.*, 25. "Journey of Oñate to California by Land, (Zárate, 1626)," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268-280. Hereafter cited as Zárate's Relation. Both Escobar's and Zárate's accounts have been carefully translated and edited by Professor Bolton.

630. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 25. Zárate says sixty leagues. See his Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268.

631. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 26. The San Antonio was perhaps Sycamore Creek.

632. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 269.

633. The Sacramento must have been the Rio Verde. That identification fits the description. Professor Bolton calls the San Antonio the Rio Verde, but that leaves no stream to compare with the Sacramento, and he attempts none.

634. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 26. Zárate also states it was here that "the Spaniards took out very good ores." If these two statements are correct then Espejo's mining discovery, later visited by Farfán, was not on Bill Williams Fork, but on the Verde.

635. *Ibid.*, V. 27. Professor Bolton notes that the name San Andrés was given to one of the richest mines discovered by the Farfán party. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 1. The inference is that there is some relation between the location of

It was followed twenty or twenty-four leagues, the two accounts differ, to the Colorado, "which they sought because of the reports which the Indians had given."<sup>636</sup> Regarding this discovery Father Escobar wrote: "It flows . . . to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there."<sup>637</sup>

*Visiting the Indians along the Colorado.* Before starting down the river Oñate sent a party up the stream to visit the Amacavas Indians. They were the Mohave,<sup>638</sup> who furnished the Spaniards with "maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river." They did not seem to have much maize in spite of the spacious bottoms along the river, and Escobar attributed this to their laziness. On the contrary they obtained much food from mesquite and from the seeds of grass which they gathered in large quantities.<sup>639</sup>

Proceeding down the river the Spaniards came to the Bahacechas, whose ranchería extended seven or eight leagues along the river bottom.<sup>640</sup> They have been identified as either a branch of the Mohave or the Huallapais.<sup>641</sup> They told more about a lake, called the lake of Copalla by the Mohaves, which was supposed to be in a populous region.<sup>642</sup> It was stated that the people who lived on its shores wore bracelets of gold and other golden adornments. When shown some silver buttons they remarked that much of that metal was dug "from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island five days from where we

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Farfán's mines and the river mentioned. It is to be noted, however, that Escobar used that name not because of being where Farfán's party had been, but because the river was reached on Saint Andrew's day.

636. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271.

637. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

638. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271. They are identified by Bandelier. *Final Report*, I, 106, 110.

639. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

640. *Ibid.*, 31.

641. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

642. As Professor Bolton points out this was the name of the region sought by Ibarra in 1563. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 6.

were toward which they pointed in the west." Zárate describes how they sailed to the place in one day.<sup>643</sup> But regarding this metal Father Escobar was uncertain. He doubted that it was silver because of its reputed abundance.<sup>644</sup>

Continuing down the river the party observed that a large stream, called the Nombre de Jesús, entered the Colorado from the southwest, about twenty leagues above the sea. This was the Gila river. There were numerous rancherías along its banks, whose inhabitants planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like those already seen. In addition they had *mantas* of cotton similar to those seen in New Mexico. These people were called Osera, or Ozaras, by Escobar and Zárate respectively. They were probably the Maricopas.<sup>645</sup>

*Oñate Reaches the South Sea.* From the junction of the two rivers the Spaniards continued to the sea about twenty leagues. This was the region of the Yumas and was more thickly settled than any seen up to that time. They were very similar in speech and customs to those already visited. The first settlement, called Alebdoma or Halchedoma, consisted of eight rancherías, the following had nine, and was called Coguana or Cohuana, the Yuma proper.<sup>646</sup> Each group was judged to contain five thousand souls. The next settlement was called Agalle or Haglli, and then followed the Agalecquamaya or Tlalliquamalla.<sup>647</sup> These two groups had a total estimated population of another five thousand inhabitants. The last settlement which extended to the sea appeared to be the largest of all. It was the Cocapa, the present Cocopa.<sup>648</sup>

643. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 274. The quotation is from Escobar.

644. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 30-31.

645. *Ibid.*, V, 32. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

646. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. The second form of the tribal name in each case is the one given by Zárate. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110. Bandelier is the authority on the identification of these tribes.

647. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. This last tribe was the Halliguamaya, identifiable with the Quigyma, and the Haglli were evidently a part of the same. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 520.

648. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33; Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276.

Here the party camped in order to have fresh water. It was January 23, 1605. With part of his men and the friars Oñate proceeded to the sea, where he took possession of the surrounding land and water for the king of Spain. From the accounts which the Indians gave of the gulf he formed the idea that California was an island. Then he returned to the camp and the rest of the soldiers also went to the mouth of the river to verify their reports.<sup>649</sup> Thereupon began the long march back to New Mexico. On the way they were compelled to kill some of their horses for food. The Indians were still friendly and gave them provisions, but "not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs."<sup>650</sup> Finally on April 25, 1605, they reached San Gabriel, "all sound and well, and not a man missing."<sup>651</sup>

*Escobar's Stories of Region Beyond.* On this expedition Oñate's men had heard tales which should have aroused much interest in the region. They had been told of a nation "who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one." Near this peculiar tribe was another whose inhabitants had only one foot. There was still another which lived on the banks of the lake of Copalla and who slept entirely under water. Another slept in trees, and the people of one nearby "sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food." Another tribe always slept standing up with a burden on the head. The people who lived on the island were ruled by a woman, a giantess, but she and a sister were the only survivors of their race. On this island all the men were bald and "with them the monstrosities ended." Thus wrote Father Escobar who duly recorded these stories.<sup>652</sup>

Escobar doubted that there existed so many monstrosi-

649. *Ibid.*, 278. These incidents are not recorded by Escobar.

650. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 34.

651. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.

652 Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 37.

ties in so short a distance, for the nations mentioned were all said to live on one river only twenty-five or thirty leagues distant, which had to be crossed to reach the island.

But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so.<sup>653</sup>

If the stories recounted by Father Escobar caused astonishment and interest that was probably the cause for recording them, for, he continued:

With less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; . . . as well as of the monstrosities reported by so many Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.<sup>654</sup>

When Zárate Salmerón wrote his account twenty years later of Oñate's expedition to the sea he refused to accept the "prodigies of nature which God has created between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea. . . . When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence."<sup>655</sup>

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653. *Ibid.*, V, 38.

654. *Ibid.*

655. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.

## Chapter XI

## THE END OF OÑATE'S RULE

*Escobar Goes to Mexico for Aid.* With the completion of the expedition to California Oñate's dream of reaching the sea had at last been realized. A fine port at the mouth of the Colorado river had been discovered, and it was "so large," says Father Zárate, "that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another."<sup>656</sup> Moreover great numbers of peaceful Indians lived in the region traversed. These would provide a splendid field for missionary activity, and this was not unimportant. In order to make the most of the new discovery Father Escobar, at the request of all the settlers in New Mexico, was sent to report to the viceroy.<sup>657</sup> But hold! Escobar did not go alone. Oñate accompanied him, going as far as San Bartolomé before reporting his presence or purpose to the viceroy.<sup>658</sup> It was of no avail, however, to seek a personal audience with the king's representative. Montesclaros immediately ordered him back to New Mexico,<sup>659</sup> and he had to be content with the efforts of others in his behalf.

*The Firm Opposition of Montesclaros.* If Montesclaros had reported unfavorably on New Mexico when he first studied the condition of the province, the new reports sent by Oñate regarding the sea did nothing but confirm his convictions. He felt that any good which might come from it could only be obtained by large investments which the crown must provide. To any such program his opposition was set.

Further, just before Escobar arrived Montesclaros had

656. Zárate's Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 277.

657. *Carta á su Magestad el rey del cabildo secular*, June 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

658. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Marqués de Montesclaros*, August 7, 1605. A. G. I., 58-8-9.

659. *Copia de carta del Marqués de Montesclaros . . . á Don Jaun de Oñate*, September 1, 1605. A. G. I., 58-8-9.

been compelled to send two friars, and supplies for three others, to New Mexico under an escort of twenty-four soldiers with half a year's pay. Such reinforcements, he informed the king, would have to be sent continually.<sup>660</sup> Now came more requests for assistance. If the fortification of the newly discovered port should be attempted that would involve enormous expense. Montesclaros believed that the poverty of the northern country was steadily becoming clearer. Referring to Oñate's recent expedition to California he exclaimed: "Nothing but naked people, false bits of coral, and four pebbles," were found.<sup>661</sup> He therefore recommended that a garrison of only six or eight soldiers should be left to guard the friars, and that a thorough exploration should be made of the gulf to see if any port suitable for the Philippine service might exist. "May your majesty provide what is most suitable. I shall not make another move in this matter without specific orders, for I actually go against my judgment."<sup>662</sup>

*The Council Recalls Oñate.*—The opposition of the new viceroy soon had the desired effect on the Council of the Indies. Early in 1606 it reconsidered the affairs relating to New Mexico and what had taken place during the past five years. The Council looked at the question in a very practical manner. In view of the questionable conduct of Oñate, Zaldívar, and a number of captains in various instances, and in view of the poverty of the land and its naked and primitive inhabitants, it recommended that Montesclaros be definitely instructed to discontinue the conquest of New Mexico, to recall Oñate for some good cause, disband his soldiers, and detain him in Mexico, to appoint a reliable and Christian governor in his place who would

660. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-15. The names of the friars are not given.

661. The four pebbles refer to some colored stones which had been brought back by Oñate's men for examination.

662. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. At the same time Don Alonso de Oñate, who was now back in Mexico, appealed to the king for paid soldiers in order that the province be not abandoned. *Carta á S. M., de Don Alonso de Oñate*, October 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

favor the conversion of the natives, and to permit only the friars to make further explorations. Moreover the Council agreed that the *visitador* going to New Spain be empowered to investigate the crimes attributed to Oñate and his various captains.<sup>663</sup> It was a sweeping program, marking a complete change in the vacillating policy which had been followed in regard to Oñate since the charges of misconduct had been made against him. The king gave his royal sanction to the new policy.<sup>664</sup>

These recommendations were not promulgated immediately. But on June 17, 1606, a cédula was dispatched to Montesclaros, embodying the Council's plans.<sup>665</sup> At the same time a member of the Council of the Indies, the licentiate Diego Landeras de Velasco, was authorized to investigate thoroughly the crimes said to have been perpetrated by Oñate and others, and to pronounce sentence. Appeal to the Council was to be permitted.<sup>666</sup>

*Oñate's Resignation, August 24, 1607.* Before these developments were known in New Mexico<sup>667</sup> a complete change had come over the little settlement. Oñate at length realized that nothing would be gained by remaining, for the meager reinforcements he had received clearly indicated that royal support on a large scale would never be given. For that reason he determined to give up the project and to return to Mexico. On August 24, 1607, his letter of resignation was tendered. Therein he informed the viceroy that "the coming of the missionaries and the *maestre de campo* with so few people caused such dismay among those who were in this *real*" that strenuous efforts were necessary to preserve the settlement. Oñate had not given up hope of the promised aid, in order to take advantage of the

663. *Consulta acerca de lo que ha parecido acerca de los excesos de Don Juan de Oñate y descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico*, January 19, 1606. A. G. I., 1-1-8/22.

664. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

665. *Real cédula al Marqués de Montesclaros*, June 17, 1606. Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 413-415.

666. *Real cédula al licenciado Diego Landeras*, June 17, 1606. A. G. I., 87-5-1.

667. Such seems to be the case, though there was time enough for the cédula to reach New Mexico.

glorious reports from the interior and of which he was sending an account, but the soldiers were so wearied and, "they have lived on hopes so long that they neither do nor can wait any longer." The friars, Oñate reported, did not dare continue baptizing till it was seen what was to be done with the region. He and his relatives had spent over four hundred thousand pesos and were unable to keep up the game any longer. Moreover as it was important that the fruits of the eleven years of labor in extending the king's dominions and converting the natives be not lost, which was after all the principal object, he had determined to resign in order that a man able to carry on his work might be appointed. If this should not be done by the end of June, 1608, and the settlers had required this to be put in writing, he would be obliged to give them permission to leave New Mexico.<sup>668</sup>

The latter had drawn up a similar report. From the time Oñate's army was organized in 1595, they had been subjected to continual expenses. They had suffered the greatest hardships and risks and were ruined in fortune. Hope in the country beyond had not been lost. They still believed that the dominions of his majesty might be greatly extended there. But they had been reduced to a condition of such extreme necessity that it was impossible to remain. The colonists accordingly agreed to Oñate's resignation, and requested the king that a man of means be appointed in his place, or aid from the royal treasury be extended him. The alternative was the desertion of the settlement by June 30, 1608, "for there will not be anyone able to wait a day longer."<sup>669</sup>

668. *Copia de una carta que el gobernador Don Juan de Oñate scrivió al virrey mi señor desde el real de San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico á veinte de Agosto demill y seiscientos y ocho [sietel] años.* A. G. I., 58-8-16. Before writing this chapter I had the pleasure of reading Professor Bolton's article, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS.

669. *Copia de carta que la justicia y regimiento y demás soldados que asisten en San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico escrivieron al virrey mi señor en veinte y quatro de Agosto de 1607 años.* A. G. I., 58-8-16.

When these reports were received in Mexico Montesclaros was no longer viceroy. In his place had returned the same Velasco who had initiated the Oñate expedition in 1595.<sup>670</sup> He now held a *junta* of three members of the audiencia to consider the recent dispatches from New Mexico. The decision of this conference was to accept Oñate's resignation, as that was in accordance with previous orders to Montesclaros.<sup>671</sup> But Oñate was cautioned not to leave without further orders, which should be in his hands before the end of December, 1609, at the latest. To depart earlier would make him liable for desertion.<sup>672</sup> The reason for detaining him a while longer was that the king had to be consulted on some doubtful points. The *junta* further recommended that eight soldiers, paid by the crown, be sent to New Mexico with these messages, and that Father Ximénez, who had recently returned from New Mexico, be authorized to go with them. This party was also to bring some provisions for the colony till its fate was definitely decided.<sup>673</sup>

*Juan Martínez de Montoya Replaces Oñate.* It was now necessary to choose some one to act as governor of New Mexico. There was no rush of wealthy applicants as there had been in 1595, and Velasco chose one of Oñate's captains, Juan Martínez de Montoya, to serve in that capacity as long as it might seem desirable. He was instructed to promote the settlement and assist in the conversion of the natives. Further entradas against hostile Indians were prohibited. Only the missionaries were permitted to venture forth, and this only in case there were sufficient friars

670. Don Luis de Velasco's second term as viceroy of New Spain lasted from 1607 till 1611. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

671. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Titulo de gobernador de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

672. *Copia de una provisión real por la qual se manda á Don Juan de Oñate no salga de las provincias de la Nueva Mexico por el tiempo que en ella se contiene sin horden de su Magestad*, February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

673. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Titulo de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A little later food, cattle, and clothes were sent to New Mexico. See *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, June 20, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

to minister to the natives who were peaceful and obedient. With Oñate the new governor was to remain on good terms, seek his experienced advice, and "honor and respect him in view of his quality and age."<sup>674</sup>

The above order was evidently opposed by Father Ximénez because of the prohibition on further entradas. He informed the viceroy that the Spaniards and Christian Indians were regularly harassed by the Apaches, who destroyed and burned the pueblos, waylaid and killed the natives, and stole the horses of the Spaniards. In order to continue the conversion and uphold the reputation of the Spanish arms it was necessary that permission be given to quell such disturbances. To meet this need Velasco revoked that part of his order which made a resort to arms unlawful, and granted the desired privilege.<sup>675</sup>

*New Mexico in the Balance.* It was a serious question in 1608, whether New Mexico should be retained as part of the Spanish Empire, or whether it should be given up as an extravagant and unprofitable possession. On March 7, 1608, Velasco had made a detailed report to the crown on the state of affairs in New Mexico.<sup>676</sup> At that time Fray Lázaro Ximénez was in New Spain. He came as the agent of the entire colony at San Gabriel, religious and soldiers alike, and requested, in the name of all, that permission be given to leave the province, or that sufficient succor, both of men and provisions, be supplied for their relief. Father Ximénez was closely questioned by the officials in Mexico and they were impressed by his good bearing. He summed up the reasons for desiring to leave New Mexico, and they were of the following nature. The harvest of souls had been small and was likely to continue thus because of the hostility of the natives. The religious had

674. *Titulo de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya.*

675. *Mandamiento para que el gobernador de la Nuevo Mexico conforme al numero de gente y armas que obiere en aquel presidio procure que ande squadra que acuda al remedio de los daños que hacer los yndios Apaches de guerra en los amigos y cavallada de Spañoles, etc.,* March 6, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

676. A full summary of it is given in *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, July 2, 1608. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

shown little disposition to learn the numerous native languages. It was not only difficult, but practically impossible, to bring supplies from Mexico because of the distance and the expense. Soliders would not serve voluntarily in New Mexico, for there was no hope of gain. Consequently it cost between 450 and 500 pesos each to maintain them there. No gold or silver mines had been discovered, it was a barren land altogether.

The Council of the Indies considered the whole project carefully and recommended in effect that New Mexico be abandoned.<sup>677</sup> There was just one thing which caused some hesitation. Was it right to desert the province without making some provision for the Christian Indians? It seemed unjust to desert them, and to remove them bodily to some other province would cause great hardship and suffering. No final decision was made by the Council, but it recommended that they remain in New Mexico if some missionaries would stay there voluntarily, otherwise the Indians would have to be removed, either of their own will or by force. If they were moved they would be exempt from paying tribute for twenty years. In case these suggestions failed theologians and jurists in Mexico should be consulted as to whether it was better to leave the converts to revert to heathenism, or to remove them by force and save their souls.<sup>678</sup>

The question of removing the converts and abandoning the province took a new turn late in 1608. Father Ximénez, who had gone to San Gabriel that spring, had returned, evidently early in December, bringing enthusiastic reports of the progress made that summer. Instead of four hundred converts there were now said to be seven thousand. He also brought some samples of ore to be tested for their silver content. This news compelled the viceroy to consider the question anew, but he noted that the saving of souls was the biggest return which could be expected

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677. *Ibid.* Embodied in a formal cédula on September 18, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

678. *Ibid.*

from the province for some time. As it was without gold or silver it would therefore have to be supported by the crown, "because no one comes to the Indies to labor and plow, but only to idle and eat."<sup>679</sup>

*New Mexico Retained by Spain.* This unexpected development caused the king to suspend the orders of July 2 and September 13, 1608, giving up the region, but he warned "that in no case can it be allowed that this entrada be made by the soldiers or as a conquest."<sup>680</sup> The province was now taken under the patronage of the crown,<sup>681</sup> and Torquemada joyfully wrote: "and thus we understand that the conversion will now be a success, and there was needed an arm as powerful as is that of the King our Lord."<sup>682</sup>

In accordance with the king's wish not to give up New Mexico Velasco called into conference the licentiates Don Pedro de Otalora, Diego Nuñez Morquecho, and Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa, of the audiencia, to consider the reinforcements which would have to be provided. It was the decision of this group to maintain about fifty *vecinos* in New Mexico. There were then sixty there, it was stated, and thirty of these were to be armed. For the present it was determined to send twelve soldiers on one year's pay to the province and to provide the arms necessary

679. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, December 17, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16. There were others who objected to giving up New Mexico. Fray Francisco de Velasco humbly petitioned the king not to abandon the province, but to erect a custodia there instead, and to reward the inhabitants of the land. His reasons for not abandoning the land were as follows. The fruits of Oñate's eleven years of labor would be lost; the Picuris, Taos, Pecos and Apache Indians were seeking the friendship of the Spaniards; the tribes near the Spaniards considered them self seekers, and if they deserted this would be true; the friars had promised the natives security in their land and homes and religious instruction; there was a great stretch of territory beyond New Mexico which provided unlimited possibilities for missionary work; there was the question of deserting the Christian natives; and finally Velasco said there were over 30,000 natives in more than 100 pueblos who might be reached by the friars. *Memorial de Fray Francisco de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 59-1-5. It was evidently written in Mexico.

680. Royal decree in Viceroy Velasco's report to the king of December 17, 1608. The order was formally dispatched May 16, 1609. *Lo que se respondió al virrey de Nueva España en 16 de Mayo de 609 cerca de las cosas del Nuevo Mexico.* A. G. I., 58-3-16.

681. The royal cédula to that effect was not issued till November 1, 1609. A. G. I., 87-5-2.

682. Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 678.

for ten more. To carry on the work of conversion it was determined to send six missionaries and two lay brothers, with everything necessary for the journey, all at the king's cost.<sup>683</sup> With such provision for continuing the work begun in New Mexico by Oñate, Torquemada had cause for jubilation.

*Disobedience in San Gabriel.* In the meantime the colony at San Gabriel was anxiously awaiting the order to depart. Since Montoya had been named governor, Oñate finally received permission to return to seek compensation for his services,<sup>684</sup> but the rest of the settlement had to stay.<sup>685</sup> When the new governor presented his commission in the cabildo, it is interesting to note, he was not permitted to exercise the duties of his office, for reasons which the colonists considered sufficient. They then turned about and elected their former governor, Oñate, but he declined to accept. Following his refusal the colonists in *cabildo abierto*, or town meeting, chose his son, Don Cristóbal, who acted as governor for a time.

With this arrangement the viceroy and his advisers were not satisfied. Don Cristóbal was too young and inexperienced, "and they say he scarcely knows how to read and write." Nor did he possess the wealth necessary to develop the land. The king was informed that a governor with suitable salary would have to be provided, and the viceroy added that he was searching for a suitable candidate.<sup>686</sup> These decisions were duly approved by the royal Council. It permitted Velasco to name the governor's sal-

683. *Auctor sobre lo que se ha mandado que lleven al Nueva Mexico los padres Fray Lázaro Ximénez y Fray Ysidro Ordoñez*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

684. *Licencia á Don Juan de Oñate*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

685. When Peralta was going to New Mexico he was instructed to permit no one to leave the province except those absolutely necessary for Oñate's safety on the trip to Mexico. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserbe la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

686. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. Cf. *Carta á S. M. del fiscal Don Francisco de Leoz* [February 2, 1609]. A. G. I., 58-5-12. The fiscal states that it was the interior rather than the South Sea which Oñate wanted to explore. One of the regions he had heard of was the kingdom of *los aijaoz*.

ary and thanked him "for the zeal with which he manages the things for the service of the Lord and the exaltation of the faith."<sup>687</sup>

*Don Pedro Peralta Becomes Governor.* Before March 5, 1609, the viceroy chose Don Pedro de Peralta to take Oñate's place in New Mexico.<sup>688</sup> His appointment marks a new step in the development of the province. The day of the get-rich-quick adelantado was over, and a settled policy of gradual development at royal expense was inaugurated. The viceroy particularly impressed Peralta with the necessity of favoring the conversion of the natives and avoiding expeditions against those Indians that had not yet been pacified. Only the friars were to be permitted to visit such tribes. In the same manner he was urged to found the new capital which had been discussed, in order that the colonists might live with greater security and regularity. Peralta was given a salary of two thousand pesos,<sup>689</sup> and the sixteen soldiers who were to accompany him were paid four hundred and fifty pesos each. Some of these had been in New Mexico before.<sup>690</sup>

*Instructions to Peralta.* Peralta was instructed to leave Mexico city in the shortest time possible and to waste no time on the march as it was of great importance that he reach New Mexico quickly.<sup>691</sup> Having arrived in the new land he was to acquaint himself with the conditions there and "before everything else carry out the founding and establishing of the villa contemplated." He was to permit

687. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, September 10, 1609. A. G. I., 1-1-2/22.

688. *Libramiento á 16 soldados para el Nuevo Mexico*, March 5, 1609. A. G. I. 58-3-16.

689. *Provisión para proveer persona en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. The reading of the document would indicate that the founding of a new capital had been agitated for some time.

690. On September 28, 1609, the viceroy instructed Peralta to continue his journey. This was in response to reports recently brought from New Mexico by Fray Josepe Tavera, and Ensign Juan de la Torre. Peralta had by that time left Mexico, for there were also reports from him. However, we are not informed as to what place he had reached. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserbe la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609.

691. *Instrucción á Don Pedro de Peralta gobernador y capitán-general de la Nueva Mexico en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609.

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the inhabitants to elect four *regidores*, and they in turn were to choose two *alcaldes ordinarios* annually. A plaza was to be selected where the public buildings would be erected, and further specific orders outlining the organization of the new city were detailed. The Indians might be given in encomienda, though those given by Oñate were not to be molested. Moderation was urged in collecting tribute, and efforts should be made to teach the Indians the Spanish language in order to overcome the difficulty of the many native tongues.<sup>692</sup>

*The Founding of Santa Fé, 1609.* The villa founded was Santa Fé. It is unnecessary to recall the efforts of numerous writers to place the founding of Santa Fé around the year 1605<sup>693</sup>. It was not established until 1609, that is certain. The documents used in this chapter cover every year to that time and there is no reference to any city in New Mexico except the capital at San Gabriel. Just when the capital was transferred to the new site at Santa Fé we do not know. Peralta's instructions in regard to establishing the new villa were very definite, and he probably effected the transfer at once. That is as much as we are able to say with the documentary evidence available.<sup>694</sup>

*A Decade of Gradual Progress.* Not much is known of New Mexico during the decade following the founding

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692. *Ibid.*

693. Professor Bolton has such a summary in his paper, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS. Bancroft, in 1889, could only state that Santa Fé was founded between 1605 and 1616. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 158. Bandelier, in 1890, was convinced of the date 1605. *Final Report*, I, 124 note 1. He later changed his opinion and in 1893 thought it might have been founded in 1608. *The Gilded Man*, 286-287. Twitchell, in 1911, clung to the date 1605. *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 332. Prince and Read, in 1912, accepted the same conclusion. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, 104. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, 246. Those who have accepted 1605 as the correct date have relied on a statement of Father Posadas who wrote eighty years after the event took place. Bloom, in 1913, first advanced the date 1609, which was accepted by Twitchell in his last book, *The Story of Old Santa Fe* (1925). An interesting discussion of the point is found in the quarterly *Old Santa Fe*, vol. I, 9; 226-227; 236-237. See also Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico*, 52-53; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177.

694. The writer among others has diligently searched the Spanish archives for some information to clinch the matter, but without success.

of Santa Fé. The only references to the province in the documents available concern the appointment of new governors and the question of expenses. Moreover these notes are very meager and disappointing in content when we recall the tendency of Spanish officials toward voluminous correspondence and interminable discussion. In 1620 the king instructed the Marquis of Guadalcázar, who was viceroy from 1612-1621, to cut down expenses wherever possible, and New Mexico felt the effect of that order. The king required that the expenses of the Franciscans in New Mexico be reduced to the same amount as their brethren in Sinaloa received. Matters were adjusted when the provincial of the Franciscans agreed to cooperate, and the viceroy reported that arrangement to the king.<sup>695</sup>

Some progress continued to be made in spite of the obstacles encountered. By 1617 eleven churches had been built and there were fourteen thousand converts in the province. In this period also a controversy developed between the royal officials and the ecclesiastical authorities, "the custodio assuming the right to issue excommunication against the governor, the latter claiming authority to appoint petty Indian officials at the missions and both being charged with oppressive exactions of labor and tribute from the natives." The matter was brought to the attention of the audiencia and both parties were rebuked.<sup>696</sup>

In February, 1621, Guadalcázar sent a lengthy report to Governor Eulate in regard to these matters. Both the custodian and the governor were exhorted to stay within their proper and legal bounds in spiritual and temporal affairs. When the elections were held in the pueblos both sets of officials were to stay away. The governor was required not to meddle in matters pertaining to the friars. He was to courtesy in case any of the religious preached in his presence. No new tributes were to be levied without the viceroy's approval, and for the time being Zuñi and

695. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á S. M.*, February 19, 1620, A. G. I., 58-3-18. The viceroy stated that the cost of each reinforcement sent was about 88,000 pesos.

696. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. This was January 9, 1621.

Moqui were entirely exempted from paying any. He was to see that friars were sent to the churches on Sundays and holidays to say mass. The Indians were not to be treated harshly. Military escorts were to be provided the friars whenever they deemed it necessary, either in visiting the pueblos or in going to Mexico. The cattle must be kept out of the corn fields of the Indians. And a proposal to move the capital at Santa Fé to some other point was prohibited without further orders.<sup>697</sup>

By 1620 the region had been erected into a custodia, and seventeen thousand Indians had received baptism. The work was carried on by sixteen missionaries supported by the crown. There was a monastery in Santa Fé, and smaller ones in the pueblos.<sup>698</sup> By 1622 the number of friars had been increased to twenty-four, six of whom were lay brothers<sup>699</sup>.

Aside from the missionary activity described nothing occurred in New Mexico to attract the attention of Spanish settlers. The rumors of mines continued to be circulated, but the viceroy reported that they had not yet been verified with any certainty. Santa Fé remained the only Spanish settlement, and it contained only fifty *vecinos*. New governors were appointed by the viceroy every four years. Guadalcázar felt that they ought to serve that long because the trip from Mexico was too costly to be repeated oftener. On August 5, 1613, *el almirante* Bernardino de Zavallos, was named to succeed Peralta as governor, and in 1617 his place was taken by Don Juan de Eulate, who ruled till 1621.<sup>700</sup>

697. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á Don Juan de Eulate*, February 5, 1621. A. G. I., 58-3-18.

698. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. "Los quales tienen un convento en la villa de Santa Fee, y otros mas pequeños en los dichos pueblos de yndios, para que se provee todo lo necesario, y el govierno de los religiosos está reducido á una custodia." Bancroft, Bolton, and others state that the custodia of San Pablo was established in 1621.

699. *Memoria de las doctrinas que ay en esta provincia del santo evangelio*, July 21, 1622. A. G. I., 96-4-2.

700. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. The date of the nomination of Zavallos is given in a report by Martín López de Gauna, May 20, 1619. A. G. I., 58-3-18. Bancroft, following Simpson, says the governor passed El Morro

*The Punishment and Exile of Oñate.* After Peralta's appointment as governor in 1609, Oñate probably did not remain long in New Mexico. In fact an order had been issued by the viceroy requiring him to depart within three months of Peralta's arrival. What befell him in Mexico during the next few years can only be imagined, but it is clear that his *residencia* was finally carried out. In 1607 Landeras de Velasco had been authorized to investigate the charges against him, but he was soon excused from carrying out the task. By a royal cédula of December 9, 1608, the same order was then given to the licentiate Don Juan de Villera, but as the visitation could not be held till Oñate had returned nothing was done, and the business was turned over to the archbishop Fray Diego Guerra. Before February, 1612,<sup>701</sup> the latter commissioned Don Francisco de Leoz, the alcalde of the audiencia, to continue and terminate the case, and he accordingly began to make the necessary investigations. But it was a very difficult matter. "because the guilty are among the most powerful and most widely related by marriage in this kingdom." For that reason, evidently, Don Francisco de Leoz was relieved of his burden, and Viceroy Guadalcázar, on June 1, 1613, was instructed to finish the business.<sup>702</sup>

The Marquis of Guadalcázar had been appointed viceroy in 1612, and soon fulfilled the king's order in regard to Oñate's case. Don Antonio Morga, one of the members of the audiencia whom Montesclaros had recommended for the position, was appointed legal adviser, and soon the investigation of the charges against Oñate as well as those against his accomplices, was completed.

Thirty complaints were made against the former governor of New Mexico, and on twelve of these counts he was

on July 29, 1620, and gives the names of some who inscribed their names on the rock. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. Eulate was governor till 1621, but his name is not among them

701. Archbishop Guerra died in February of that year. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

702. *Real cédula al Marqués de Guadalcázar*, June 1, 1613. A. G. I. 87-5-2.

held guilty. He was accused of giving glowing accounts of the land when it was really poor; he had prevented the auditor-general Gines de Herrera Orta and others from exercising their offices granted by the viceroy; he had called Monterey his deadly enemy and spoken ill of him; Salazar had been caricatured by the mulattos with the expedition while it was at the San Pedro river; robberies had been committed by the soldiers in the army between Zacatecas and Santa Bárbara; Peñalosa had been held prisoner till he would say that the deserting colonists had forced him to permit their departure; Oñate had lived shamefully with women in the colony; he was responsible for the death of the soldiers hanged by Villagrá and Márquez near Santa Bárbara; for the death of Captains Pablo de Aguilar and Alonso de Sosa; for the hanging of two Indians at Ácoma without cause; and for the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent and guilty alike when Ácoma was destroyed by Zaldívar.

For these crimes Oñate was condemned to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile for four years from the city of Mexico and its vicinity for five leagues around, to pay a fine of six thousand Castilian ducats and the costs of the case.<sup>703</sup>

*The Conviction of Oñate's Accomplices.* Vicente de Zaldívar was convicted of the death of Captain Sosa; of whipping three soldiers rigorously in his house; of the death of Andrés Martín near San Bartolomé; of undue severity against the Ácoma Indians; and some other charges. He was condemned to banishment from New Mexico for eight years, from Mexico City and vicinity for two years, to pay a fine of two thousand ducats and the costs of the case.<sup>704</sup>

Villagrá, the poet and historian of the expedition to New Mexico, was also among the guilty. He was accused of complicity in the death of Manuel Portugués and Juan

703. *Sentencia contra el adelantado Don Juan de Oñate*, in *Testimonio de las sentencias*, May 16, 1614. A. G. I., 58-3-17.

704. *Sentencia contra el maestre de campo Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza* in *ibid.*

Gonzáles near Santa Bárbara, who had fled from Oñate's army, and of writing beautiful but untrue accounts of the land just conquered. He had to suffer exile from New Mexico for six years, banishment from Mexico City and vicinity for two years and pay the expenses of the trial.<sup>705</sup>

Captain Gerónimo Márquez was involved in the death of Manuel Portugués and Juan Gonzáles, and of killing three others and some Indians before reaching New Mexico. He was sentenced to perpetual exile from New Mexico, to exile from New Spain for ten years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats. In addition he was to be imprisoned till the fine was paid.<sup>706</sup>

Four other captains were convicted for being implicated in the deaths of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were: Alonso Nuñez de Ynojosa, Juan de Salas, Alonso Gómez and Dionisio (or Domingo) Bañuelos, and were sentenced to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile from Mexico City and vicinity for four years, with the exception of Bañuelos whose sentence was only two years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats each.<sup>707</sup>

There were three others, Francisco Vido, a mestizo, Augustín, an Indian, and Luís Bautista, a negro, who were also convicted of aiding in the murder of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were sentenced to exile from both New Mexico and New Spain and to two hundred lashes in the streets. Augustín escaped with one hundred.<sup>708</sup> In that manner the arm of the law was extended to distant New Mexico and the wrongs committed there during Oñate's rule rectified.

*Oñate's Reinstatement.* In 1622, after Guadalcázar's long viceregal rule of nine years was over, Oñate sought to be exonerated of the judgment rendered against him. The audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara submitted records of the services of the Oñate family for the king, in his be-

705. Villagrá's sentence, in *ibid.*

706. *Sentencia contra el capitán Gerónimo Márquez*, in *ibid.*

707. See the sentences against each of these captains, in *ibid.*

708. See the sentences against each one, in *ibid.*

half. He had already paid the fine and had not violated the sentence, and the Council of the Indies recommended that the judgment be removed. But the king was opposed and withheld his sanction.<sup>709</sup> Three months later the Council again brought the subject to the king's attention, only to be turned aside once more.<sup>710</sup> Oñate did not give up, however, and made new appeals to the Council. But though it favored leniency the king's opposition was not overcome.<sup>711</sup>

This is all the evidence available regarding Oñate's pardon, but there is some reason for believing that it was granted before 1624. At that time he was entrusted with the visitation of mines in Spain. In view of such official favor it might be inferred that the king had pardoned his former adelantado of New Mexico, the title which he still bore at that time.<sup>712</sup> But the evidence is circumstantial and not conclusive.

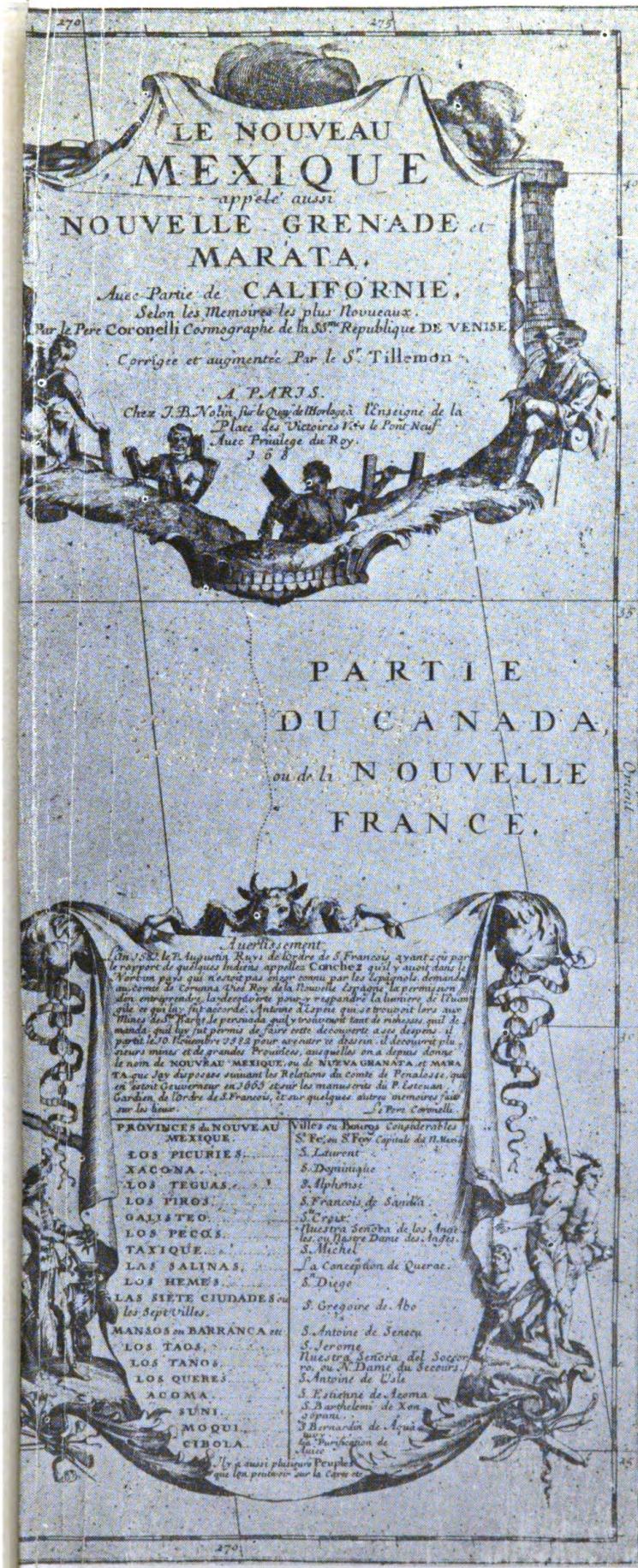
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709. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, April 6, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

710. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, July 2, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

711. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, November 25, 1622 A. G. I., 66-5-10.

712. Royal decree, June 18, 1624. A. G. I., 58-3-2. In May, 1624, Oñate sought compensation for his services. He desired membership in one of the military orders and a governmental position in Mexico, Guadalajara, or the Philippines. For that reason he had come to Spain to press his cause, but evidently nothing was done at that time in regard to these matters. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, May 10, 1624. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.



## APPENDIX A.

**Official List of the Soldiers who Accompanied  
Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, in Alphabetic Order.**

At the mines of Todos Santos, on January 8, 1598, and within the church of said pueblo, Señor Juan de Frias Salazar commissary-general and visitor-general of the people on the expedition to New Mexico for the king our lord and his lieutenant captain-general took the muster-roll and made a list of the people that Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain-general of the said expedition, brought forward and said he had for that purpose in the following manner.\*

**(Aguilar)** Captain Pablo de Aguilar Hinojosa, 36 years old, son of Juan de Hinojosa Valderrama, native of Ecija, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and another complete outfit which he gave to a soldier.

**Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro**, 21 years old, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro, native of Ribadeo, of good stature beard growing, a wound above the left eye, with his arms. He said he was a native of Sombrerete.

**Luís de Araujo**, 30 years old, son of Juan López de Araujo, native of the city of Orense in Castile, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms.

**Asensio de Arachuleta**, 26 years old, son of Juanes de

\* In this list are the names of 129 men, 130 including Juan de Oñate the governor. Peculiarly enough no description is given of the chief leader of the enterprise. The number of soldiers thus agrees with the "Memorial." See note 382. The name of Oñate's son, Cristóbal, nowhere appears in the official records, though Villagrá and others note his presence.

It is possible that this official list is not actually complete, for occasionally we find the names of soldiers in New Mexico who do not appear in any of the official records. Some of these instances have been indicated in the notes. There is no record of the women and children who accompanied the men on this expedition. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-8-14.

Arachuleta, native of Ybar, of medium stature, black bearded, a slight wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Diego de Ayardi, son of Bartolomé de Ayardi, native of Guadalajara in this New Spain, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, pock-marked, one injured finger on the left hand, without arms or harquebus. The outfit he had the governor had given him, he said.

Juan del Cazo Baraona, native of Mexico, son of Sancho de Baraona, 50 years of age, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the other things he had declared, except an harquebus.

Juan González de Bargas, son of Francisco Martínez, native of Carmona, of medium stature, scant beard, one tooth missing, 22 years of age, with all his arms and also a short jacket.

Alvaro de Barrios, son of Luis González, native of Coimbra, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a scar on the right side, 26 years of age, with a complete set of arms which he said the governor had given him.

Diego Blandin, son of Diego González, native of Coimbra, of good stature, grayish, over 40 years of age, with a knee length coat of mail from the governor and an harquebus and sword of his own.

Captain Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, son of Alonso de Cuenca, native of Villanueva de los Infantes, tall, black-bearded, with a blow from a stone above the left eye, 44 years of age, with his arms and extra harquebus. The other things he gave to a soldier.

Captain Joseph de Brondate, son of Clemente Gregorio Brondate, native of Aragón, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, over 25 years of age, with his arms including an engraved and gilded coat of armor.

Juan Pérez de Bustillo, 40 years of age, son of Simón Pérez, native of Mexico, of small stature, swarthy, gray-bearded, a wart on the left side, with his arms.

Simón de Bustillo, 22 years of age, son of Juan Pérez

de Bustillo, native of Mexico, swarthy, little beard, freckly faced, of medium stature, appeared with his arms. He said the governor had given him his outfit.

Juan Velázquez de Cavanillas, son of Cristóbal de Hidalgo de Cavanillas, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of small stature, chestnut colored beard, 24 years old, went with arms, except cuishes, which he said the governor and *maese de campo* had given him.

Francisco Cadino, 36 years old, son of Pedro Cadino, native of the town of Sailices de los Gallegos, of good stature, blackbearded, freckly faced, [something omitted in original] although he brought them [arms?] he said the governor had given them to him.

Pedro López Calvo, son of Alvaro López Calvo, native of Molina Seca, of medium stature, a large wound in his forehead, 20 years of age, with all his necessary arms.

Juan Camacho, native of Trigueros, son of Anton Sánchez, a man of good stature, graybearded, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail and a small lance.

Juan López del Canto, 25 years old, son of Pedro López del Canto, native of Mexico, of good stature, blackbearded, a cross in his forehead, without arms except for a suit consisting of coat of mail, cuish and beaver which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Juan de Victoria Carbajal, son of Juan de Carbajal, native of the town of Ayotepel in the Marquisate of the Valley, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 37 years of age, with his arms.

Martín Carrasco, native of Zacatecas, son of Martín Carrasco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Gonzalo de la Carrera, son of Lope de la Carrera, native of Alcalá de Henares, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Bernabé de las Casas, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, tall of stature, son of Miguel de las Casas, blackbearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms complete.

Diego de Castañeda, son of Juan de Castañeda, native of Seville, tall of stature, beardless, changeable eyes, 19 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Martínez de Castañeda, son of Bartolomé Martínez, native of Berganza, of medium stature, beardless, 18 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Miguel Montero de Castro, son of Augustín Montero de Castro, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, red-bearded, reddish eyes, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Juan Catalán, 32 years old, native of Barcelona, son of Antonio de la Cruz, bright reddish beard, wounded in the right arm, appeared with his arms.

Captain Gregorio César, native of the city of Cádiz, son of César Cesaar (sic) 40 years of age, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and a set of arms which he had declared before today. He said he had given it to a soldier who had no arms.

Ensign Diego Nuñez de Chaves, 30 years old, son of Juan de Chaves, native of Guadalcanal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, some of his upper teeth broken, with his arms.

Juan Velarde Colodio, son of Juan Velarde Colodio, native of Madrid, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms.

Antonio Conde, son of Antonio Conde de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, beardless, 18 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Cordero, 22 years of age, native of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Rodrigo Fernández Cordero, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. The beaver was given him by the governor, he said.

**Marcos Cortés, son of Juan Martínez, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wart on his right cheek, 30 years old, with all his arms.**

**Juan de la Cruz, son of Juan Rodríguez, native of the Valle de Toluca, partly swarthy, beardless, tall of stature, 19 years of age, with his arms and an extra shield which he said the governor had given him.**

**Manuel Díaz, 20 years old, son of Manuel Díaz, native of Talavera, beardless, of good stature, fat, with his arms except cuishes.**

**Juan Pérez de Donis, *secretario de gobernacion*, 58 years old, native of Cangas de Onis in Asturias, son of Francisco Pérez Carreno, of medium stature, graybearded, with a wound in his forehead.**

**Captain Felipe de Escalante, 47 years of age, son of Juan de Escalante Castilla, native of Laredo, of small stature, short and fat, swarthy, grayish, with his arms and other things he had declared.**

**Don Juan Escaramad, son of Don Juan Escaramad, native of the city of Murcia, small of stature, changeable eyes, chestnut colored beard, 26 years of age, with his arms.**

**Captain Marcello de Espinosa, 21 years old, native of Madrid, son of Antonio de Espinosa, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms. The other things which he had declared he had gambled away, he said.**

**Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos, 40 years of age, son of Gines Farfán de los Godos, native of Seville, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms, and the other things which he declared he said had been given to his soldiers.**

**Manuel Francisco, 30 years old, son of Francisco Pérez, native of Portugal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, and one finger of his left hand half withered, with his arms.**

**Francisco García, native of the city of Mexico, son of**

Martín García, of good stature, redbearded, 35 years old, appeared with his arms.

Marcos García, 38 years old, son of Tomé García, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, grayish, swarthy, with his arms.

Hernán Martín Gómez, son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Valverde de Reina, tall of stature, very grayish, with his arms except cuishes.

Ensign Bartolomé González, son of Juan González, native of the Corral de Almaguer, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 29 years of age, with his arms and what else he had declared.

Juan Griego, 32 years of age, son of Lazaro Griego, native of Greece in Negropote, of good stature, graybeard, a big wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Cristóbal Guillen, son of Diego Guillen, native of Mexico, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Guillen, native of Seville, son of Hernán Pérez, of good stature, redbearded, grayish, with a mark on the right side, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms except cuishes.

Gerónimo de Heredia, 38 years old, son of Diego Hernández de Heredia, sergeant of Captain Márquez' company, native of Córdoba, of medium stature, reddish beard, a mark above his left eye-brow, with his arms.

Antonio Hernández, 33 years of age, son of Francisco Simón, native of Braga, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, an injury on two fingers of the right hand, with his arms.

Gonzalo Hernández, son of Pedro Alonso Falcón, native of Coimbra, of good stature, gray-haired, 50 years of age, with all his arms and an extra harquebus and some cuishes.

Bartolomé de Herrera, son of Miguel de Herrera, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 20 years

of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Cristóbal de Herrera, son of Juan de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, swarthy, smooth-chinned, 19 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Alonso Nuñez de Hinojosa, son of Alonso de Santiago, native of the city of Plasencia, redbearded, of good stature, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Domingo de Lezama, 27 years of age, son of Juan de Obregón, native of Bilbao, tall, redbearded, a wound on the nose, with his arms.

Francisco de Ledesma, native of Talavera de la Reina, son of Juan Fernández de Ledesma, of medium stature, black bearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Juan de León, native of Cádiz, son of Antonio de León, says he is a native of Malaga, of good stature, redbearded, a wart on the right cheek, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Cristóbal López, 40 years old, son of Diego López de Avilés, native of Avilés, of good stature, corpulent, swarthy, blackbearded, a gash above the left eye, with his arms complete. He said he was a mulatto.

Juan Lucas, 18 years old, son of Juan Lucas, native of Puebla, freckled, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. He said the governor had given him the harquebus.

Francisco Martín, native of Ayamonte, son of Bonifacio Gómez, of good stature, aged graybearded, hairy, 60 years of age, appeared with his arms except harquebus which he said he did not have.

Hernán Martín, 40 years old, son of Hernán Martín Serrano, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, little beard, pockmarked, with his arms.

Hernán Martín son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Verlanga, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms. He said the governor gave him the coat of mail and harquebus.

Alonso Martínez, native of Higuera de Bargas, son of Benito Díaz, of medium stature, blackbearded, scant beard, 46 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Juan Medel, native of Ayamonte, son of Fernan Medel, graybearded, small of stature, 43 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, 38 years old, native of the town of Villanueva de los Infantes, son of Gonzalo Gómez, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Baltasar de Monzón, 20 years old, son of Baltassar de Monzón, native of Mexico, of good stature, the beard growing, with his arms which he said the *alguacil real* had given him.

Juan Moran, son of Juan Moran, native of Mora de Toro, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, thin, 27 years of age, with his arms except harquebus which he said Captain Bocanegra had given him.

Lorenzo de Munuera, 28 years old, native of Villa Carrillo, son of Gil de Munuera, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Alonso Naranjo, 42 years old, son of Diego Carrasco, native of Valladolid in Castile, of good stature, tawny beard, a wound in the face, with his arms.

Francisco de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, with a mark above the left eye, beardless, of medium stature, 17 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, of good stature and figure, beard growing, 19 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Pedraza, 30 years old, son of Alonso González, native of Cartaya, swarthy, tall, blackbearded, a big wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Captain Alonso de Sosa Peñalosa, 48 years of age, native of Mexico, son of Francisco de Sosa Albornoz, grayish, swarthy, appeared with his arms. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

The royal ensign Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, 60 years old, of medium stature, graybearded, son of Francisco de Peñalosa, native of Avila, appeared with his arms and a strong leather jacket. He said his sons were bringing the other things which he had declared.

Andrés Pérez, 30 years old, son of Andrés de Cavo, native of Tordesillas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, flat, with his arms and the other things he had declared.

Juan Pineiro, ensign, son of Manuel Pineiro, native of the town of Fregenal, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, with all his arms.

Alonso de Quesada, captain of a company, son of Don Pedro de Quesada, native of Mexico, redbearded 32 years of age, with his arms and an extra coat of mail. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Francisco Ramirez, native of Cartaya, son of Gómez de Salazar, small of stature, redbearded, blind on the left eye, 24 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Martín Ramirez, 33 years of age, native of Lepe, son of Juan Leal, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard without arms, because those which he might bring the governor was to provide.

Juan Ortiz Requelmo, 28 years old, son of Juan López Ortega, native of Seville, of short stature, chestnut colored beard, a wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Pedro de los Reyes, 18 years old, son of Sebastian de los Reyes, native of Mexico, beardless, tall, pockmarked, FNM13

with his arms given him by Captain Aguilar except sword which he did not have.

Lorenzo Salado de Rivedeneira, native of Valladolid in Castile, of medium stature, redbearded, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Pedro de Ribas, son of Juan de Ribas, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of good stature, beardless, 20 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him, except sword which he did not carry.

Pedro de Rivera, son of Francisco Miguel de Rivera, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, scant blackish beard, 19 years of age, with all his arms.

Alonso del Rio, 28 years old, son of Estevan Arias, native of Puerto Real, of good stature, bright reddish beard, with his arms and one cuish which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Pedro Robledo. 60 years old, native of Maqueda, son of Alejo Robledo, of good stature, entirely gray-haired, with his arms.

Diego Robledo, 27 years old, native of Maqueda, son of said Pedro Robledo of above, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Alonso Robledo, 21 years of age, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Cimapan in New Spain, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Pedro Robledo, 20 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Temazcaltepeque, of good stature, scant beard, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Robledo, 18 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Valladolid in New Spain, smooth-chinned, appeared with his arms except cuishes, powder-flask and small flask.

Antonio Rodríguez, son of Silvestre Juan (sic), native of Canas de Señorio in Lisbon, of medium stature, chest-

nut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan Rodríguez 40 years of age, native of the city of Oporto, son of Gonzalo González, of medium stature, grayish hair.

Juan Rodríguez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, 23 years old, with all his arms.

Sebastian Rodríguez, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, redbearded, long mustache, 30 years old, with his arms.

Ensign Bartolomé Romero, 35 years old, son of Bartolomé Romero, native of Corral de Almaguer, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, with his arms.

Captain Juan Moreno de la Rua, 44 years old, son of Hernando Moreno de la Rua, native of Salamanca, of medium stature, fat, reddish beard, with his arms.

Juan de Salas, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, beardless, of good stature, 20 years old, with his arms.

The accountant Alonso Sánchez, 50 years of age, native of the town of Niebla in Castile, son of Alonso Márquez, of medium stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms. He said his children were bringing the rest of the things he had declared.

Alonso Sánchez, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, native of La Puana, of good stature, beard growing, 22 years old, with all his arms.

Cristóbal Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, with a mark on his nose near the eye-brows, 27 years of age, with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, 30 years of age, soldier of the said Captain Alonso Gómez, native of Cartaya, son of Diego de Sánchez, of good stature, blackbearded.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beard growing—chestnut colored, 24 years of age, with his arms.

Matia Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beardless, 15 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Pedro Sánchez, 50 years old, native of Mexico, son of Hernán Martín de Monrroy, of good stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the rest he had declared.

Pedro de San Martín, son of Antonio de San Martín, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, pockmarked, 25 years of age, without arms except for those he brought, which included coat of mail, beaver, harquebus and powder flask. He said the governor had given them to him.

Antonio de Sariñana, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiciro, native of Galicia, small of stature, scant beard, 19 years old, with his arms. The governor gave him the coat of mail and beaver.

Hernando de Segura, 27 years of age, son of Francisco Díaz de Villalobos, native of Condado de San Juan del Puerto, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms except cuishes and powder-flasks.

Sebastian Serrano, 28 years old, native of Mexico, son of Juan Alonso, with his arms.

Estevan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of Havana, tall of stature, scant beard, 21 years of age, with all his arms, which are the ones his father Francisco de Sosa declared besides his own.

Francisco Yllan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of the Valle de Altillo, beard growing, tall of stature, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Gaspar López de Tabara, son of the *Comendador* Gaspar López de Tabara, native of the city of Lisbon, *alguacil real* of the said expedition, chestnut colored beard, 30 years

old, with all his arms. The rest which he declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Lucas de Tordesillas, son of Juan de Tordesillas, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, fat, swarthy, blackbearded, a mark between the eye-brows, 30 years of age, with his arms.

Leonis de Treviño, son of Baltasar de Banuelos, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, scant reddish beard, 26 years of age, with arms, for although he brought them he said the governor had given them to him.

Alonso Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, son of Pedro Varela, appeared with his arms.

Pedro Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, son of Pedro Varela, 24 years of age, of good stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Vázquez, native of Cartaya, son of Alonso Alfran, of good stature, redbearded, 28 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

The treasurer Don Luís Gasco de Velasco, 28 years old, son of Luís Ximenez Gasco, native of the city of Cuenca, of medium stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Velman, son of Francisco Velman, native of Trimonia Framenco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 33 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Vido, son of Gerónimo Vido, native of Mexico, swarthy, beardless, of medium stature, 20 years old, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrá, son of Hernán Pérez de Villagrá, native of Puebla de Los Angeles, of medium stature, graybearded, 30 years of age, with all his arms.

Francisco de Villalua, son of Juan Miguel Galindo, native of Cádiz, beardless, of good stature, 20 years of age, with his arms, which he said the governor had given him except for the harquebus. He brought a scythe.

Miguel Rodríguez de Villaviciosa, son of Juanes de Villaviciosa, native of Rantaria, of medium stature, beard growing, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 20 years old, with his arms.

Juan Ximénez, son of Francisco Ximénez, native of Trujillo, of medium stature, blackbearded, 30 years of age, with a suit and sword of his own and harquebus. The rest he said the governor had given him.

Isidro Xuárez, son of Pedro Xuárez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballeros, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 20 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Hernando de Ynojos, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 36 years of age, with all his arms and the other things which he and his brother Sebastian Rodríguez had declared, except a coat of mail, which he said had been given away.

León de Ysasti, son of Juanes de Ysasti, native of the Valle de Haro, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 23 years of age, with his arms.

The *maestro de campo* Don Juan de Zaldívar, 28 years of age, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of the city of Zacatecas, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and displayed the other arms which he had declared except an harquebus which he said he had given to a soldier.

The *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, 25 years old, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Zapata, son of Francisco Hernández Piquete, native of Azuaga, small of stature, chestnut colored beard, with two or three marks on his forehead, 23 years of age, with all his arms.

The purveyor- general Diego de Zubia, 36 years of age, native of the city of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Juan de Zubia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wound in his forehead, appeared with his arms.

## APPENDIX B.

Official List of the People who Went to  
New Mexico in 1600.\*

First passed Juan Guerra de Resa, lieutenant adelantado, governor and captain general of New Mexico, on horseback, the reins in one hand with a staff of command in the other; near him a page completely equipped with arms, - coat of mail, buckskin leather jacket, cuishes, helmet, beaver, harquebus and a horse armed in tanned buckskins.

## Company of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Captain Bernabé de las Casas, who goes as leader of the said army. He departed from the provinces of New Mexico to lead the people. He was equipped with all arms - coat of mail, cuishes, helmet, beaver, cavalry arms and was on horseback with his harquebus, the horse armed in natural bulls' or cows' hides, which he said came from the church of Teneriffe from the Canary Islands. He was the legitimate son of Miguel de las Casas; is a man of good stature, swarthy of feature, blackbearded, 30 years of age.\*

Bernabé Benitez de Azebo, son of Andrés Benitez, a noble, native of Alcazar de Cezeres, fully armed like the rest, 20 years of age, tall of stature, swarthy of feature, well armed. I say he is 34 (sic)

Gonzalo Fernández de la Banda, son of said Benhumea.\*\* with his arms and horse like the others, beard growing, 20 years of age.

Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, son of Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, native of the town of Cazalla, grayish, short of stature, 53 years of age, fully armed like the others.

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\* As each man appeared before the inspecting officers he took an oath that the arms were his own, for use in New Mexico.

\* There are 80 soldiers in this reinforcement, including Juan Guerra de Resa, who did not go to New Mexico, however. Thus Oñate fulfilled the bond given at Avino, January 21, 1598. See ch. v of this study. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-3-14.

\*\* That is, Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea.

Sebastian de Benhumea, son of said Benhumea, with his arms like the rest, 18 years of age.

Cristóbal de Brito, the legitimate son of Triminez de la Calle, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 25 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Bernabé de las Casas, see above.

Juan Ruiz Cáceres, son of Pedro Ruiz, native of the Isle of La Palma, long-visaged, well bearded, tall of stature, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Diego de Castellanos, son of Domingo de Castellanos, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of medium stature, beardless, well featured, 18 years of age, completely armed like the rest.

Pedro Gómez Durán, sergeant of the said company, equipped with all arms like the rest. He said he was a native of Valverde of the jurisdiction of the Grand Master of Santiago, the legitimate son of Hernán Sánchez Reco. He is a robust man, of good feature, 50 years old.

Antonio Fernández, son of Francisco Simón. He is a native of the city of Braga, tall of stature, well featured, 35 years old, completely equipped with arms like the rest.

Juan Ruiz Fernández, son of Hernando Ruiz de Rojas, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, scant beard, of good feature, medium stature, 23 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Manuel Ferrara, soldier, son of Manuel Ferrara de Figueroa, native of Puebla de los Angeles of New Spain, of good stature and feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Gregorio de Figueroa, son of Diego Ruiz de Figueroa, native of the city of Mexico, short of stature, beard growing, 21 years old, armed like the rest.

Domingo Gutierrez, the legitimate son of Domingo Gutierrez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, round-faced, well bearded, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Juan de Guzmán, son of Luis Andino, native of the port of Santa María, short of stature, swarthy of feature, 20 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Antonio Conde de Herrera, *sargento mayor* of the said relief force, fully equipped with arms, personal and horse, including harquebus, native of Xerez de la Frontera in the kingdom of Castile, son of Xines de Herrera Corta.

García Lucio, soldier of the said company, with his arms and horse like the rest, the legitimate son of Rodrigo Lucio, native of Alcantara, rough beard, well featured, 30 years old.

Juan Luxán, son of Francisco Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, 27 years of age, armed like the others.

Miguel Martín, son of Lucas Martín, native of the city of Escalona, blue eyed, beard growing, 22 years of age, equipped with arms and horse like the rest.

Baltasar Martínez, *cogedor*, son of Juan Sánchez, *cogedor*, native of the town of Vudia in the kingdom of Castile, tall of stature, well featured, beard growing, 22 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Gerónimo Márquez, *maese de campo* of the said relief force, with his arms, both personal and horse. He said he was a native of San Lucar de Barrameda, the legitimate son of Hernán Muñoz Zamorano, 40 years of age, swarthy of feature, blackbearded.

Juan López de Medel, son of Pedro López de Medel, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 36 years old, armed like the others.

Antonio Mexía, son of Luis Mexía, native of the city of Seville, 18 years of age, beardless, of good countenance, fully armed like the rest.

Bartolomé Montoya, son of Francisco de Montoya, na-

tive of Cantillana, fully armed, blackbearded, short of stature, 28 years of age.

Luís Moreno, ensign, son of Luís Fernández Moltaluo, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, well featured, tough beard, tall of stature, 26 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Muñoz, ensign, enlisted with his arms and horse like the rest, with a standard of red damask in the hand having two emblems of Our Lady and St. James, the border of gold and silk. He said he was a native of Xerez de la Frontera, son of Cristóbal de Bargas. He is a man tall of stature, very fat, round-faced, blackbearded, 40 years of age.

Francisco Díaz de la Peña, son of Francisco Díaz de la Peña, native of the city of Toledo, beardless, blue-eyed, short of stature, 18 years old, armed like the others.

Pedro Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, tough beard, of good feature, 30 years old, fully armed.

Juan Baptista Ruato, leader, with his arms and horse like the rest, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, the legitimate son of Amador Balez, of medium stature, fine reddish countenance, light blue eyes, well bearded, 30 years of age.

Bartolomé Sánchez, native of Llerena, the legitimate son of Bartolomé Sánchez, equipped with all arms for person and horse like the rest, tough beard, well featured, 28 years of age.

Bernabé de Santillan, son of Hernando de Olivar, native of Madrid, tall, beard growing, swarthy, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Tristán Vaez, son of Amador Vaez, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of this New Spain, beard growing, short of stature, 20 years old, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Rodríguez Vellido, son of Francisco Nuñez, native of Xibraleon in Castile, well bearded, with a scar below the left eye, 40 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Estevan Pérez de Yranzo, son of Vicente Pérez 'de Yranzo, native of the town of San Martín in New Galicia, of good stature, rough beard, fully armed like the others, 30 years of age.

Captain Villagrá's List.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrá, procurator-general of the expedition was armed in coat of mail, cuishes, iron beaver and had a short lance. The horse was armed in bulls' or cows' hides. He made a demonstration of his entire company. . . .

Francisco de Algecira, ensign, son of the licentiate Diego de Algecira Ricaldo, 20 years old, of good feature, beard growing, armed like the rest.

Captain Juan de Victoria Carbajal, who went to the said provinces of New Mexico and is now returning thereto, member of the council of war. He is a son of Juan de Carbajal, well featured, with a mark on the right side of the face above the eye, 38 years of age, completely armed like the others.

Captain Francisco Donis, the legitimate son of Gaspár Donis, native of Los Angeles, with a mark in his forehead, of good stature, tough beard, 33 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal González de Flores, sergeant, son of Anton Alonso, native of Seville, blackbearded, tall, 40 years old, armed like the others.

Diego Martínez de Guevara, sergeant, son of Benito Martínez de Guevara, native of Burgos, 21 years of age, short of stature, tough beard, blue-eyed, armed like the rest.

Juan de Herrera, son of Francisco de Herrera, native of the city of Mexico, medium of stature, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years old, armed like the others.

Juan López Holguin, ensign, son of Juan López Vilasana, native of Fuente Obejuna, of good stature, black-bearded, with a mark on the left eye, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan de Lara, son of Francisco de Pineda, native of Antequera, 20 years old, beardless, blue-eyed, medium of stature, armed like the others.

Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, son of Bartolome Martínez de Montoya, native of the town of Nava la Camella in the jurisdiction of Segovia in Castile, tall, of good feature, blackbearded, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan Rangel, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gaspár Anrriquez, native of the city of Mexico, 25 years of age, tall of stature, well featured, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like his captain [Villagrá] and with a standard in his hands.

Captain Francisco Rascon, son of Francisco Rascon, native of the city of Los Angeles in New Spain, tall of stature, well featured, 25 years old, armed like the others.

Don Pedro Gallegos Truxillo, ensign, son of García de Truxillo de Gallegos, native of Xerez de la Frontera, 23 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Cristóbal Vaca, the legitimate son of Juan de Vaca, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, swarthy, well featured, 33 years of age, with his arms like the rest.

Andrés Gutierrez Valdivia, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gutierrez Valdivia, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, well bearded, swarthy of feature, 32 years old, armed like the others.

Blas de Valdivia, son of Juan de Valdivia, native of Seville, beardless, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Alonso Vayo, son of Juan Dominguez, native of San Juan del Puerto in Castile, with a mark on the left cheek, tall, 25 years of age. He enlisted with a buckskin leather jacket, adorned coat of mail, harquebus and came on horseback, behind him a servant, completely armed, both man and horse, with a lance in the hand. He requested that he be given testimony of this.

Alonso de la Vega, sergeant, son of Juan de la Vega, native of Carmona, short of stature, tough beard, 26 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Villagrá, see above.

Captain Ortega's List.

Then appeared Captain Juan de Ortega with a squadron of armed men on horseback, the horses also being armed. . . . The squadron was ordered to march to the encampment [San Bartolomé]. This was done, the harquebuses being discharged now and then. The commissaries, having seen the captain and force, ordered them to place themselves face to face, and they were enrolled in the following manner.

Captain Juan de Ortega, son of Hernando de Ortega, native of Los Angeles, medium of stature, of good feature, redbearded, 27 years of age. He enlisted with his arms, harquebus, coat of mail, cuishes, beaver, dagger and sword, leather shield and buckskin jacket. The horse was armed in bull's or cow's hide.

Juan Alonso, soldier, son of Juan Méndez, native of Seville, of good stature, well bearded, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego Hernández Barriga, son of Juan Fernández, native of Moguer, a well built man, well bearded, 25 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego Díez, son of Diego Díez, native of Havana, 18 years old, fat, beardless, armed like the others.

Isidro Suárez de Figueroa, ensign of this company, son of Pedro Suárez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballos. He came from New Mexico. He is of good stature, swarthy, long-visaged, recently bearded, 24 years old, with arms similar to his captain's

Juan García, native of Puebla de los Angeles, beardless, thin, 20 years old, with his arms like the others.

Don Alonso de Guzmán, sergeant of said company, son

of Antonio de Guzmán, native of Cuenca, of good stature, well bearded, 22 years old, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like the rest.

Juan Jorge, son of Juan Jorge Griego, native of the town of Los Lagos, tall of stature, swarthy, 35 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal de Lizaga, son of Juan de Lizaga, native of Tépez in New Spain, of good feature, tall, beardless, 22 years old, with his arms.

Mateo López, son of Juan Marcos, native of Madrid, 20 years of age, beard growing, swarthy, round-faced, with his arms.

Antonio de Manzaneda, son of Luís de Manzaneda, native of Los Angeles, tall, beardless, 18 years old, enlisted like the rest.

Sebastian Martín, son of Francisco Martín, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 21 years old, with his arms.

Juan Martínez, son of Juan Martínez, native of Talavera, of good stature, somewhat bearded, 23 years old, enlisted with his arms like the others.

Juan de Melgar, son of Lorenzo de Melgar, native of Zacatecas, tough beard, of medium stature, lame in one leg, 26 years of age, enlisted armed like the rest.

Luís de Morales, son of Francisco de Morales, native of Los Angeles in New Spain, of good stature, with a scar from a wound on the left side of the beard, 23 years old, with his arms.

Captain Juan de Ortega, see above.

Francisco Ruiz, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, 20 years old, of good stature, beard growing, enlisted with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Juan Sánchez, native of Mexico, beardless, of good feature, 18 years old, with arms and horse like the rest.

Francisco Suárez, son of Diego Suárez, native of Garachico on the Isle of Teneriffe, of good feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years old, with his arms, i. e., coat of mail, beaver, cuishes, harquebus, dagger, sword, and horse which was armed like the others.

Of the following nine soldiers we have no descriptions. The first and fifth enrolled late, the others departed early.

Pedro de Angelo.	Juan Gregorio.
Juan Fernández.	Juan Hurtado.
Alvaro García.	Pedro Pérez.
Simón García.	Robledo.
Juan Gil.	

#### List of Married Women.

Doña Francisca Galindo, wife of Captain *sargento mayor* Antonio Conde Herrera.

Doña Anna Galindo, Doña Gerónima Galindo and Doña María Galindo, sisters of the said Doña Francisca, unmarried.

Doña Margarita and Domingo de Castellanos, children of the said captain.

Juana Gutierrez, wife of Gerónimo Hernández de Benhumea.

Doña Anna de Mendoza, daughter of Doña Luisa de Mendoza, native of Mexico, wife of the ensign Gregorio de Figueroa.

Doña Anna Ortiz, daughter of Francisco Pacheco, wife of Cristóbal Vaca, native of Mexico. Her three daughters and son, named Juana de Zamora, Ysabel and María de Villarubia, and the boy Antonio. She brings an unmarried servant Anna Berdugo, natives of Mexico.

Francisca de Valles, wife of Juan Ruiz Fernández,

Maria de Zamora, legitimate wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, with five children, three boys and two girls, all under sixteen, named Francisco, Diego, Joseph, Lucia and Petronilla.

Anna India, native of Puebla de los Angeles, and Paul Hernández, her natural husband, from the said town, with two little children, María and Estevan; servants of Juan Baptista.

Juana Fernández, unmarried, sister of the aforesaid, in service of Juan Baptista.

Beatriz de los Angeles, unmarried, servant of Cristóbal de Brito; and Juan Tarasco, servant of the same man.

Anna, living with an Indian named Francisco belonging to Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

A girl named Ines, 10 years old.

María, unmarried, servant of Juan López. She has a girl named Mariana.

Catalina, sister of the aforesaid spinster. She has a girl called María; is in service of Juan López.

Agustina, her sister, married to Francisco servant of Juan Lopez.

Francisco, an Indian, servant of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Francisca, unmarried, servant of Bartolomé Sánchez.

Francisca Ximénez, unmarried, servant of Juan Lu-janes.

A girl called María.

Madalena, unmarried, servant of Pedro Rodríguez.

Mateo, a mulatto, in service of Juan Baptista Ruano.

Isabel, a mulatto woman, unmarried and free.

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## ERRATA

p. 10, last line, *read* Almadén.

p. 19, next to last line, *read* 1596.

p. 26, note 76, 'Villagrá' without italics; and omit the following: Count of Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 363. Villagrá goes on to say that the . . . .

p. 40, line 15, and p. 185, lines 22 and 26, *read* Agustín.

p. 59, add note: 226. See above, 40.

p. 70, note 258, last line, *read* Captain Brondate.

p. 72, note 265, omit 'Brondate' and *read* "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 196-197.

p. 74, line 21, *read* to prevent.

p. 100, note 382, line 3, omit that part following, 'but . . .

p. 152, note 577, italicize 'Spanish Borderlands.'

In notes 45, 58, 61, 65 and 89, accent the word 'Monarchía.'

In notes 53 and 95, accent the word 'Inéd.'

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